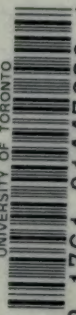
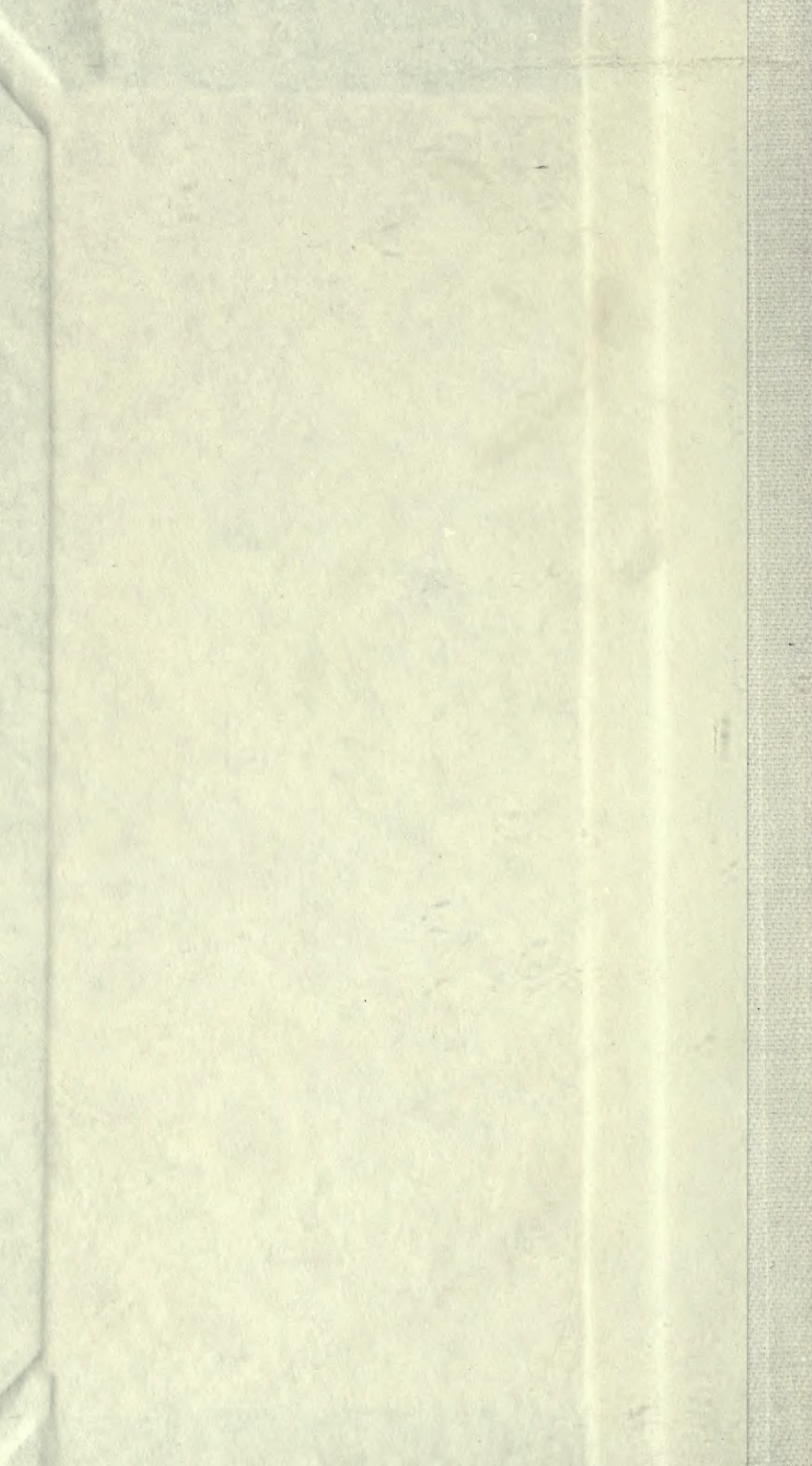


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THE BANTU—PAST & PRESENT

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THE BANTU PAST AND PRESENT

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL & HISTORICAL
STUDY OF THE NATIVE RACES
OF SOUTH AFRICA

BY

S. M. MOLEMA

"Admire—exult—despise—laugh—weep,—for here
There is such matter for all feeling."

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,
Canto IV. six.

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EDINBURGH
W. GREEN & SON, LIMITED

1920

MS 1822

THE BANANA
PAST AND PRESENT
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE BANANA
OF SOUTH AMERICA



BY M. A. ...

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...
...

MS 1822
1871

W. GREEN & SON, LONDON
1870

To

*Scotland — the Country and its People — the
parent of the most illustrious heroes of Africa,
the tutress of the African author and his
refuge during the world's titanic
convulsion — This book is
respectfully dedicated*

PREFACE ¹

THIS work is no production of art. It purports to be a simple portrayal of the life of the Bantu (or Native Peoples of South Africa).

The Great War is quoted to explain everything. It may be quoted as a reason for this work also. There are black races participating on both sides, but particularly on the Allied side. Among these latter are the Bantu, on behalf of Great Britain. So I have hoped that my presenting to the public some facts about my people, the Bantu, would not be out of place, and that it might increase the public interest in them.

To the scientist, inquiry into the life and usages of backward races affords a vivid illustration of the primitive conditions of the more advanced races, and of the ascent of nations from this condition. It explains also some of those apparently arbitrary customs that persist even in the most highly-civilised peoples.

To members of the governing race, some knowledge of the governed race, their mind and manners, seems necessary. For, knowing with whom one has to deal often decides how to deal. Much of the misunderstanding and contempt between nationalities, too, is largely due to want of acquaintance with each other. In such cases, of course, the weaker nation suffers.

This, then, is a story designed for the average English-speaking person, without any great acquaintance with South African people and affairs.

To members of the Bantu race I hope this small book may be an incentive to many to collect and record the history of their people.

¹ This book was written in 1917 and was actually in the press in the early part of 1918, but its publication was stopped by the paper difficulties arising from the war. It has been brought up to date.

Finally, I may say that I am a member of the race whose life I have described in the following pages, kith and kin of the people whose story I am unfolding to the world. This has given me the advantage, as it were, of telling the story of my own life, relying much on my personal observation and experience, and more correctly interpreting the psychological touches which must be unfathomable to a foreigner.

Like Browning, then,—

“I spoke as I saw,

I report as a man may of God’s work—all’s Love yet all’s Law.”

I have, however, not hesitated to avail myself of all relevant literature which I could find. Where opinions vary I have, so far as possible, freely stated each and fortified mine. I have endeavoured to eliminate all conscious bias in one way or the other, and to tell the story as faithfully as I know it.

“With equal freedom and veracity have I related what was laudable or wicked; I have concealed no crimes and added no virtues.”

I take the opportunity to thank the publishers of this book for their encouragement and for many valuable suggestions.

S. M. M.

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CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

- 1482. The Portuguese sail as far south as the mouth of the Congo.
- 1484. Diego Cam sails as far as the mouth of the Kunene.
- 1486. Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape.
- 1497. Vasco da Gama lands at St Helena, Mossel Bay, and Natal.
- 1498. Vasco da Gama touches the mouth of Limpopo River.
- 1503. Antonio de Saldanha lands at Table Bay.
- 1505. Pedro Anaya establishes a settlement at Sofala.
- 1506. The Portuguese discover Madagascar.
- 1510. Francesco d'Almeida—the first of Portuguese East India settlers—
killed with sixty-one men by the Hottentots at Saldanha Bay.
- 1544. Lourenço Marques explores Delagoa Bay.
- 1571. Francis Barreto navigates up the Zambesi.
- 1576. The Portuguese visit Natal.
- 1577. Dominican Mission founded at Mozambique.
- 1581. Sir Francis Drake rounds the Cape.
- 1595. Mossel Bay visited by Dutch ships on their way to India.
- 1601. The Cape is visited by the British East India fleet.
- 1614. Table Bay visited by Isaac le Maire.
- 1644. Slaves first imported to Brazil.
- 1652. The Dutch under Jan van Riebeeck land at the Cape.
- 1654. Malays imported into the Cape as convicts.
- 1658. Negro slaves introduced to the Cape from the Guinea Coast.
- 1659. First Hottentot War.
- 1665. Building of the Castle at Cape Town.
- 1670. French flag hoisted at the Cape.
- 1673. Hottentots and Dutch quarrel, many Dutchmen killed.
Second Hottentot War.
- 1680. European population at the Cape equals 600.
- 1685. Copper discovered in Namaqualand.
- 1688. The arrival of the Huguenots at the Cape.
- 1690. Delagoa Bay abandoned by the Portuguese.
- 1698. Arabs repulse the Portuguese north of Mozambique.
- 1702. Ama-Xosa (or Xosas) cross the Kei River.
- 1709. The Dutch prohibit the French language at the Cape.
- 1713. Outbreak of smallpox.
- 1714. Outbreak of cattle plague.

1717. Slave trade question debated.
1720. The Dutch settle at Delagoa Bay.
1736. Dutch trespass into Pondoland and killed by Xosas.
George Schmidt of the Saxony Moravian Church preaches the Gospel to the Hottentots.
1743. George Schmidt deported to Java by the Dutch.
1745. Gamtoos River made the eastern boundary of Cape Colony.
1752. Centenary of Dutch occupation of the Cape.
Census, 5510 Europeans and 6279 slaves.
1755. Second outbreak of smallpox.
1759. Jesuit missionaries leave Portuguese settlements.
1767. Third outbreak of smallpox.
1778. Governor Van Plettenberg meets Xosa rulers.
Fish River fixed as boundary of Cape Colony.
1779. First Xosa-Dutch War.
1782. Xosas defeated.
1789. Second Xosa-Dutch War.
1790. Xosas successful.
1792. German Moravian Mission established at Gnadendaal.
1795. The British take the Cape.
Dutch revolt at Swellendam and Graaff Reinet.
Birth of Robert Moffat in Scotland.
1796. Surrender of the Dutch fleet at Saldanha Bay.
Mungo Park explores the Niger River.
1799. Third Xosa War.
Arrival of the first agent of London Missionary Society—Dr J. Vanderkemp.
1802. The Cape restored to the Dutch.
1805. The British finally retake the Cape.
Tshaka becomes supreme ruler of the Ama-Zulu (or Zulus).
1811. Fourth Xosa War; Stockenstroom slain.
1812. Unpopularity of missions.
1813. Birth of David Livingstone in Scotland.
1814. Arrival of the first agent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society—
Rev. Barnabas Shaw.
1815. Slachter's Nek Rebellion.
Robert Moffat (missionary) lands at Cape.
1818. Fifth Xosa War.
J. Campbell (missionary) explores Bechuanaland.
1819. Xosas under Makana attack Grahamstown.
1820. Arrival of 5000 British immigrants; Port Elizabeth founded.
1821. Napoleon Bonaparte dies at St Helena.
Zulus invade Natal.
1824. Tshaka grants land to King.
1825. Birth of Paul Kruger.
1828. Tshaka assassinated by Dingana.
1830. Slave regulations brought into force at the Cape.
Nominal abolition of slave trade by the Portuguese.
Kaffraria thrown open for trade.

1831. Birth of James Stewart in Scotland.
1832. Protests *against* slavery abolition policy.
1833. Abolition of slavery by the British Government; £20,000,000 voted by Parliament as compensation.
Paris Evangelical Mission agents commence work in Basutoland.
1834. Emancipation of slaves; Cape owners given £1,500,000.
Boers trek out of the Cape.
King William's Town founded.
1835. Sixth Xosa War.
1836. Great Boer trek northwards. Some attacked by Moselekatse.
1837. First agent of Church of England—Rev. F. Owen—in Zululand.
Matabele migrate to Rhodesia.
1838. Boers under Piet Retief murdered by Dingana's impis at Weenen.
Pretorius avenges his friends' massacre by signally defeating the Zulus.
Boers establish a republic in Natal; Pietermaritzburg founded.
New Testament translated into Sechuana.
1840. Dingana assassinated.
David Livingstone lands at the Cape.
1841. Lovedale Missionary School founded.
1842. Boers trek out of Natal.
1844. Annexation of Natal to the Cape.
Pondoland made a treaty state.
1846. Seventh Xosa War.
1847. Kaffraria made a British province; East London founded.
1848. Treaty States of Basutoland and Griqualand abandoned.
Zulu hut-tax levied.
1850. Eighth Xosa War.
1851. First Basuto War. Basuto defeated by Boers and British.
1852. Sugar plantation in Natal commenced.
British defeated by Basuto of Moshesh.
1853. Birth of Cecil Rhodes.
1854. Sir George Grey governor of the Cape.
Bishop Colenso arrives in Natal.
1855. Livingstone discovers Victoria Falls.
1856. Burton and Speke discover Lake Tangányika and Victoria Nyanza.
Cetywayo and Umbulaze fight on the Tugela.
1857. The Bible translated into Sechuana.
1858. Second Basuto War with Orange Free State.
Introduction of Indian labour.
1861. Griquas settle in Griqualand.
1863. Victoria Nyanza and sources of Nile explored by Speke and Grant.
1865. Third Basuto War with Orange Free State.
Annexation of Kaffraria.
1866. Peace made with Basuto (Moshesh).
1867. Fourth Basuto War.
Diamonds discovered in Griqualand West.
James Stewart arrives at Lovedale.

1868. Basutoland becomes British Protectorate.
Death of Moselekatse, ruler of Matabele. Lobengula succeeds.
1870. Death of Moshesh, ruler of Basuto.
1871. Basutoland and Griqualand West annexed to Cape.
1872. Cetywayo succeeds to Zulu throne.
1873. Langalibalele's Rebellion in Northern Transvaal.
University of the Cape of Good Hope founded.
Death of Livingstone in Central Africa.
1875. Annexation of Transkei to Cape.
Stanley (H. M.) continues and completes Livingstone's work.
Sekukuni's Rebellion.
1877. Ninth Xosa War.
1878. British ultimatum to Zulus.
1879. Zulu-British War. Zulu success at Isandhlwana. British success at
Ulundi. Cetywayo captured.
Morosi's Rebellion.
1880. Basuto Rising.
1881. Transvaal Boers invade British Natal. British defeat at Majuba
and Igogo.
Opening of Transvaal Gold Fields. Armistice with Basuto.
1882. Reinstatement of Cetywayo. Zulu Civil War.
1883. Basutoland separated from Cape Colony.
Death of Dr Robert Moffat in Scotland.
1884. Death of Cetywayo, ruler of Zulus. Dinizulu succeeds. Sir Charles
Warren's expedition to Bechuanaland.
Germany occupies South-West Africa.
1887. Annexation of Zululand.
1888. Death of President Brand of Orange Free State.
Zulu Rebellion. Dinizulu arrested.
1889. Death of Langalibalele.
1893. Anglo-Matabele War. Capture of Buluwayo.
Death of Lobengula.
Annexation of Pondoland to Cape Colony.
1895. Annexation of British Bechuanaland to Cape Colony.
1896. Matabele and Mashona Risings.
Jameson Raid.
1899. South African War.
1901. Death of Queen Victoria.
1902. Death of Cecil Rhodes.
1904. Death of Paul Kruger.
Chinese labour introduced into Transvaal.
1905. Death of James Stewart at Lovedale.
1906. Zulu rising in Natal and Zululand.
Belgian atrocities in Congo State.
1907. Belgium annexes Congo Free State.
1908. Indian agitation in Transvaal.
1910. Death of King Edward VII.
Death of Bathoen, ruler of Bangwaketse.
Union of South Africa.

1910. South African Native National Congress founded.
1913. Natives Land Act passed.
Indian agitation in Natal under Dr Gandhi.
1914. Native deputation protests against Natives Land Act in England.
European War breaks out.
1915. Death of Chief Lekoko of Barolong.
1916. South African Native Labour Contingent to France.
1917. Seapapico, ruler of Bangwaketse, assassinated by his brother—
Moeapico.
Opening of South African Bantu College at Fort Hare.

The Bantu—Past and Present

PART I.—THE REVELATION

CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTORY

“BANTU” is the name of the Negroid race who occupy the whole of Africa south of the equator, or, more correctly, of 5° N. lat.

The outstanding characteristic of the various nationalities of this Bantu race is the uniformity of their languages. Some of these nationalities are the Bechuana, the Basuto, the Fingoes, the Xosas, and the Zulus.

The name “Bantu” (properly *a-bantu*) is a Xosa-Zulu word meaning “people.” Its form in the language of Bechuana-Basuto is *Batho*. Its other forms in the various Bantu languages will be found in the chapter on Language (XII.). The name Bantu was first applied by the philologist, Dr. Bleek, as a generic name for those peoples (south of 5° N. lat.) speaking such closely allied languages.

It is well here to specify the limits of this work—to say what it is, and, especially, what it is not. It is not a history, properly so called. That work must be left to much abler pens. It is purposed in this work to describe, in a simple way, the life, not of all the Bantu race, but only of a section of them. This section of the Bantu shall be that which inhabits the lands over which Great Britain holds sway, in particular, those Bantu who are in the “Union of South Africa,” and, to a less degree, those that are in the British Protectorates and Crown Colonies. The other members of the race outside these borders are, but for brief references with a view to securing connectedness of the subject, ignored.

Similarly the Negroes proper have been passed over; but an endeavour has been made to constantly keep before the reader the fact that the Bantu *are* a Negro people, if a modified one.

It has been necessary for lucidity in two chapters (XIV. and XXVII.) to almost completely merge the Bantu in the larger Negro group.

Chapter IV. has also been given to a brief consideration of two primitive nations—the Bushmen and the Hottentots—who, though not of the Bantu family, have lived side by side with them and shared very much the same fortunes with them. For the same reason, some words have been said about a new nation (Eur-Africans) sprung from the mingling of European and African blood.

The book has been arranged in four parts, and in such a way that while each part is in itself complete, the four parts are, at the same time, continuous. Part I. has been called the Revelation, because it is at once introductory, and also deals with facts less commonly known than the little-known facts contained in Parts II., III., and IV. In Part I. also is included the description of the primitive, and now decadent, nations—Bushmen and Hottentots—by way of distinguishing them in race and time from the Bantu.

Part II. has been called the Past, because it deals with the Bantu in their primitive condition, considers their migrations, their wars, and their usages, etc., all of which are now, largely, things of the past.

Part III. has been called the Present. It is a consideration of the Bantu since their contact with the Europeans, and deals almost exclusively with the Bantu of the Union of South Africa. The wars of the Europeans and the Bantu were originally intended to be described under this part, but it appeared more convenient, as securing better sequence, to consider after each tribe their struggles with European powers.

None of the titles—the Revelation, the Past, and the Present—applied to Part I., Part II. and Part III. respectively, pretend, of course, to be strictly correctly applied, but it is believed they conveniently sum up the characters of the three parts of the book, besides, in a general way, giving the reader a rough idea of the chronological sequence.

Part IV. has been called Possibilities and Impossibilities, and is largely introductory to larger questions upon which there are divers views.

2. ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AFRICA

In considering any particular people on any part of the globe one of the first questions that suggests itself to a scientifically inclined mind is why those people should be where they are. How have they come to be there? To furnish an answer to such and similar questions would manifestly require some acquaintance with anthropology,¹ especially its division of ethnology.²

We are setting out to consider the Bantu people, a subgroup of the Negro race whose home and habitat Africa has been so far back as human records go. We begin then by asking—How long has the Negro been in Africa? Whence did he come?

Unfortunately, however, these questions and others like them, must, for the time, and perhaps for all time, remain unanswered, for anthropology has not yet decided whether man was evolved in Africa, or whether he immigrated into that continent from elsewhere; and if this latter is the case, whence, and when the date of immigration was.

The answers to these questions depend on the answer to the still more general question: Where was man evolved? Anthropologists are agreed that man has descended from ape-like ancestors, like the old-world Simian species of monkeys, technically known as the Catarrhini. They are also able to say with tolerable certainty that the area in which he acquired his human form and character corresponds to the old world, that the area was not Australia or anywhere about Oceania, and that it was probably in the torrid zone of the old world—Asia or more probably Africa, which is still inhabited by the gorilla and the chimpanzee, the nearest living relations of man.

It is concluded that those old-world monkeys which are the progenitors of man, and others more closely related to him, have become extinct. It is also possible that Europe might have formed an area of evolution of man, as it is shown to have been inhabited by some anthropomorphous (or man-like) apes in the Middle Tertiary (Cainozoic)³ period.

Anthropology goes further, and states that man diverged from his ape-like ancestors most likely during the Late

¹ Anthropology = Study of the human race.

² Ethnology = Study of the origins and relations of different races of man.

³ Geological period.

Tertiaries—that is, in the Pliocene age, and did not acquire any marked or distinctive human features till the Early Quaternary¹ times—the so-called Paleolithic man (under half-a-million years ago). Assuming, then, that this happened somewhere in the tropical zones of Asia, it is thought by many authorities that the Negro or his forebears emigrated from thence through Syria, Persia, and Arabia into Africa at a period about 50,000 years or so ago.

Further evidence that seems to support the view of the Negroes' origin in the East is afforded by the unmistakable Negro element throughout India, and especially Southern India, also in Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, the Philippine Islands, and further east in Borneo, Jilolo and Timor, and still more to the East and markedly in New Guinea, Solomon and Bismarck Islands, also in Fiji, Hawai, Tasmania and New Zealand. Thus the Negro strain stretches right on from Oceania through the East to Africa and from Africa to Oceania.

But may not Europe, instead of Asia, have been the area in which the Negro in common with all humanity diverged from the Catarrhini? This indeed is thought possible from the evidence furnished by some fossil remains of great antiquity. Some of these (representing the *Homo sapiens*), discovered in Central Europe and dating back to the Pliocene or Miocene era, half-a-million (or so) years ago, are said by palæontologists, to show unmistakable Negro affinities. Others discovered in Southern Europe seem to point out that Negroes were here some 30,000 or 40,000 years ago. In support of such a view, it is pointed out that many Southern Europeans—the Italians, the Southern French and the Spaniards—show to this day some traces of Negro ancestry not only in colour, but in features also. It is thought possible that the ancestors of the Negro came, then, from Southern Europe, spread over Asia and principally entered Africa.

Yet another possibility is expressed. It is that Africa itself was the area of evolution of the Negro, the northern parts of the continent having been populated at some time of remote antiquity by the *Homo primigenius*, who has left traces in some of the existing North African people as those in Western Mauretania or Atlas.

Some more geological remains discovered in South Africa are thought to show great affinities to the *Homo sapiens* and the

¹ Geological period.

Negro. It is suggested that the Negro might have been evolved on this southern part of Africa and also on Lemuria, this being the name of a large isthmus which once connected the east coast of Africa and Madagascar on the one hand and Asia on the other. This early land now lies submerged deep below the waves of the Indian Ocean.

Such, in short, are the more common views of anthropological science on the origin of man and the periods of his immigration into Africa.

Amidst inferences, surmises, speculations, and conclusions, one fact stands out in bold relief, and that is, evolved there or not, the Negro ultimately made Africa his home. And there is evidence to show that he populated it almost in all its parts for a long time, but was later (6000 to 8000 years ago), conquered and replaced or absorbed by the Caucasian in some parts, notably along the Mediterranean seaboard. The rest of the continent, however, remained peopled entirely by the Negro until about 4000 years ago, when the Hamitic Caucasians and the Semites penetrated as far as the Sudan and Nubia, assimilated the indigenous Negro, or better, crossed with him and gave origin to the hybrid races of Sudanese and the Nubians.

How the section of the Negroes south of the equator and known as the Bantu actually arose will always be a difficult question to answer. That they are sprung from Negroes seems beyond question. They are said to have sprung from the mingling of Negro blood with that of the Hamites of North Africa and also the Semites of North and East Africa—that is, in short, the Bantu are a hybrid race—Negroes modified by considerable infusions of Caucasian blood. That, of course, is quite easily possible and readily understood: what forms the difficulty is the complete and abrupt separation of the Bantus from Negroes in language, and also the striking homogeneity of all the Bantu languages as opposed to the astounding diversity of the Negro languages. For, consider, the Negroes north of the equator are very uniform in their physical appearances, but speak languages as different as English is from German. Even between conterminous tribes, the slightest linguistic resemblance cannot be made out. In fact, it is stated on good authority that in one district of several villages, each village may be found speaking its own language totally unrelated to that spoken in another village.

Contrast with this the position south of the equator down to

the most southerly point of Africa. Here the inhabitants are all black also, but they show great diversity in their physical appearance. In language, however, there is a remarkable uniformity. You may hear the same words occurring in most of the languages. When the languages are considered on a grammatical basis, their uniform construction and syntactical agreement becomes even more striking. It appears, in fact, as if all those people had sprung from one common stock. Their language is neither Hamitic nor Negro nor a cross of the two, in words or syntax.

Until better information about the birth of the nation can be adduced, however, it may for the present be taken that the Bantu reached Central Africa in the shape of their Negro ancestors somewhere about 30,000 years ago. After 20,000 years or so, they gradually mixed their blood with the Hamites who had penetrated from North Africa as far south as Southern Sudan, Abyssinia, and Somaliland. After the conquest of North Africa by the Arabs about 6000 years ago, these gradually filtered southward by land on the steps of the Hamites, while by sea they reached the east coast of Africa and probably mixed their blood about 3000 years ago with the Negroes (destined to be Bantus) to a greater extent than did the Hamites before them. This is a hypothesis. It is enough to explain the hypothetical infusion of Sabæan blood in the Bantu.

From this equatorial region the huge, seething mass of humanity began a southward migration on a broad front but separate lines—now rushing forward with impetuosity, now advancing more slowly, and now halting but never receding. The advance was necessarily slow, and it was probably only a few decades before Christ that the Zambesi was crossed, and about the fifteenth or sixteenth century the Limpopo was reached.

CHAPTER II

1. PREHISTORIC AFRICA

AFRICA is a "dark continent" in a threefold sense. It has, until comparatively recent times, been a *terra incognita*, and, therefore, almost as much unknown as if enveloped in some impenetrable darkness. It was practically unknown to, and wholly untouched by, the civilisations of Persia, India, Arabia, Greece, and Rome. Up till modern times Africa was "known only in its skirts."

Secondly, when Africa did become known, it was found to be peopled by dark-skinned races—the Ethiopians, of whom Homer speaks as "a blameless folk whom the gods themselves visit and partake of their feasts."

In the third place, and perhaps most important of all, these dark-skinned Africans had no light: they were in darkness—the gross darkness of ignorance.

Now, if Africa as a continent is dark, Southern Africa must be considered still darker, for not only has it remained unknown for a much longer time than the northern part of the continent, to the civilised nations external to Africa, its history is not only much more shady, its past more mysterious, but it is also more truly shrouded in the dense darkness of ignorance—a darkness almost palpable. For, in the north, the civilisations of Egypt, and, later, that of Carthage, might be said to have sent some rays and shed some light on the surrounding parts. Later on, the Asiatic influence, in the shape of Mohammedan invasion and conquest—however pernicious its effects are sometimes considered to be—dispersed mists throughout the north of Africa.

Egypt and the Mediterranean coasts have been known to extra-African civilisations for thousands of years. When the rest of Africa was benighted, these parts were enjoying a civilisa-

tion of no mean order. In fact, such a contrast did Egypt form to the rest of Africa that it came to be considered as part, not of that continent, but of Asia. Here in Egypt was a civilisation even older than Asiatic civilisation, a civilisation going back to the times of Moses and beyond—to the birth of Israel, back to the earliest dawns of history and the beginning of human records.

The Egyptians arrived in Africa about 10,000 years ago, probably from Arabia. They were chiefly Hamitic people, with strains of Negro blood. At this time, then, Egypt was peopled by a Negro-Hamitic race, the progenitors of Nubians.

The earliest attempt to explore beyond Egypt seems to have been made about 1500 B.C., and there is ample proof that the Egyptians, during the reign of the last line of the Pharaohs, were acquainted with Africa as far south as Somaliland. About 1000 years B.C. the Phœnician Arabs had become the greatest sailors in the ancient world. It was with the help of their king—Hiram of Tyre—that King Solomon was able to send some of these Phœnicians down the Red Sea to the east coast of Africa to fetch him gold from Ophir. Where exactly Ophir is has been a subject of much speculation and conjecture. Some have imagined that the mysterious ruins and diggings of Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia are the remains of Ophir, but recent archæological researches totally oppose this view.

According to Herodotus, in his *Melpomene*, about 600 B.C., Pharaoh Necho (or Niku) II., King of Egypt, commissioned some Phœnician sailors to sail down the Red Sea and ascertain the extent of land beyond Egypt, and to return to Egypt through the Pillars of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were then called.

The story goes : “ The Phœnicians took their departure from Egypt by way of the Erythrean Sea (*i.e.* Red Sea), and so sailed into the southern ocean. When autumn came, they went ashore, wherever they might happen to be, and, having sown a tract of land with corn, waited until the grain was fit to cut. Having reaped it, they again set sail ; and thus it came to pass that two whole years went by, and it was not till the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules and made good their voyage home. On their return they declared—I for my part do not believe them, but perhaps others may—that in sailing round Libya (*i.e.* Africa) they had the sun on their right hand. In this way was the extent of Libya first discovered.”

At a later date, about 500 B.C., it is recorded that Hanno, the Carthaginian, sailed south through the Straits of Gibraltar with a fleet of sixty ships. His prime purpose was the exploration of the unknown west coast of Africa. He is said to have gone no further than Sierra Leone, or Liberia.

Persians and Arabs next took the field, and tried to explore southwards both by land and sea, but with no remarkable success.

Cambyses (Kambujiya), second king of the Medes and Persians, who conquered Egypt 525 B.C., attempted to explore southwards and extend his conquests. His army, however, perished in the deserts of Nubia.

By the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., the Persians gave place to the Greeks. Though the new rulers did much in the way of religious enterprise, they added little or nothing to the geographical knowledge of Africa. The Greeks were succeeded by the Romans, whose domination in Egypt dates from the death of Cleopatra, 30 B.C. In their time, attempts were made by land and sea to explore Africa south of Egypt, all, however, with uniform failure. The fierce, burning Sahara was ever forbidding. It was an effective barrier—cutting off south from north.

The works of Pliny the younger show that in his time, 62 to 114 A.D., Africa, beyond Abyssinia, was utterly unknown to the Romans.

Ptolemy, the greatest authority on ancient astronomy and geography, and a native of Egypt, 139–161 A.D., knew but little of Africa beyond Egypt. Indeed, from the information of traders, he was able to construct a map of Africa in which the position of the Great Lakes of Central Africa was fairly accurately guessed.

In the fifth century after Christ, the Teutonic vandals invaded the north of Africa and blotted out the last traces of the Roman rule. For nearly a century the north of Africa remained under Gothic rulers, when they were overthrown in the seventh century by the Moslems, who, advancing from Arabia, carried all before them, conquered the north of Africa—from Egypt to the west coast—completely, and Islamised everything most effectively, so that to this day the north of Africa is still Islamic.

None of these suzerains of North Africa—from the *aboriginal* Egyptians and Carthaginians down to the Persians, then to the Greeks, further down to the Romans, and more down,

down to the Vandals and Mohammedans—none of these have left evidence that they knew aught of Africa south of the equator, or even south of the Sahara Desert up to about 900 to 1000 years after Christ.

As for the Arabs, it is indeed true that they have recorded of a crew attempting to sail round the extreme south of the continent, but being driven back by the storms. It would appear also from the records of Marinus of Tyre, Pliny, and Ptolemy, that, early in the Christian era, and some time before it, the Arabs carried on trade—mostly in gold—between Zanzibar on the east coast, on the one hand, and India, Egypt, and Rome, on the other, and, further, that what the Greeks and the Romans vaguely knew of the eastern shore of Africa was, in a large measure, derived from the Arabs.

The nature and style of the Zimbabwe ruins already mentioned as in Southern Rhodesia, are supposed by some to show unmistakable Eastern workmanship, and the Arabs are said to have been the builders early in the Christian era. This, at any rate, is the view entertained by the archæologist, Mr. Bent, who, after devoting much time and attention to the study of the ruins, felt persuaded that Zimbabwe was built by people from Southern Arabia. In his book, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 76, he says: "It is incredible that such a style of architecture as we have described, and such a civilisation as it signifies, could have originated and developed in South Africa . . . and we must assume that the founders of Zimbabwe had their architecture as well as their religion in common with their mother country. The balance of probabilities seems to be in favour of that country being South Arabia."

These conclusions have been impugned of late. Notwithstanding, there is sufficient evidence pointing to the fact that the eastern coast of Africa has been known to the Arabs for centuries.

To the Western civilisation, on the other hand, nothing was known of this coast, or any part of Africa south of the equator, until the dawn of Portuguese maritime enterprise.

2. THE UNVEILING OF SOUTH AFRICA

We have seen in the first part of this chapter how Africa, beyond the Mediterranean seaboard, remained veiled and shrouded in mists for centuries, and how attempt after

attempt to open it ended in complete failure; or, if it attained any measure of success, how the results of the expeditions have not been sufficiently made known to the world. To Western Europe, Africa was a land unknown.

It was not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the Portuguese and the Spaniards obtained a slight footing along the north-western shores of Africa—about Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco; but their influence never extended much inland and southward, nor was it permanent.

Under the encouragement of Prince Henry of Portugal—a prince so devoted to maritime enterprise as to earn for himself the proud appellation of “The Navigator”—the Portuguese became the first seafaring nation. From 1418 the prince sent out expedition after expedition to map out the west coast of Africa. After the death of Prince Henry the Navigator, John II., his successor, urged on exploration, and desired his sailors to round the southernmost part of Africa and discover the way to India. The anxiety of the king was, in part at least, stimulated by the stories of the trade in gold and ivory carried on by the Arabs between the east coast of Africa—from Sofala and Mombasa—and India. By 1482 Portuguese sailors had sailed as far south as the mouth of the Congo on the west coast. In 1484, Diego Cam, accompanied by Martin Behaim, the cosmographer, had sailed still further south beyond the Kunene River, which forms the southern boundary of Angola and the northern boundary of the erstwhile German South-West Africa. Diego Cam had in fact penetrated to about 22° S. lat., a point corresponding to Walfish Bay.

In 1486 King John commissioned Bartholomew Diaz to follow up the discoveries of Diego Cam. Diaz, in command of a humble “fleet” of two vessels, each 60 tons, soon reached the limit which his predecessor had attained, and first touched land at 26° S. lat. Sailing farther south, he found he had rounded the southern extremity of Africa without being cognisant of the fact. Sailing backwards, therefore, in a north-easterly direction, he touched at, and discovered Algoa Bay.

King Emanuel, “the Fortunate,” of Portugal, succeeded John II. in 1495, and perpetuated the Portuguese sea fame. In 1497 he ordered Vasco da Gama to do what so far had not been done, namely, to discover “a route round the Cape to India.” This Da Gama accomplished between the years 1497 and 1502, and, in the latter year, he established forts at Beira

and Sofala on the east coast. The epoch-making voyage of Vasco da Gama, combined with the discovery of Brazil by Cabral, and expeditions under Albuquerque and others—all Portuguese officers—these went to make Portugal the world's emporium, and the first sea power of Europe.

Having rounded the Cape, Vasco da Gama touched at the mouth of the Limpopo, and then proceeded northwards (on the east coast) to Kelimane. Here he, for the first time, came into contact with Oriental civilisation. Sailing further north, he dropped anchor at Mombasa, and thence he crossed the Indian Ocean, reached Calicut on the west coast of India, and thus effected his mission. He had sailed to India round the Cape.

For more than half a century after 1500, *i.e.* from 1500 to 1558, several Portuguese sailors visited the south-eastern coast of Africa: Sofala, Beira, Zanzibar, Kilwa, and Lourenço Marques, all of them Portuguese territories. In one of these voyages, in 1510, sixty-one Portuguese sailors, and their admiral, Francesco d' Almeida, were killed by the Hottentots. These men, it seems, had touched at the Cape, landed and given offence to the Hottentots, whereupon a *mêlée* ensued, with the above results. This small incident put any idea they might have had of the Cape out of the Portuguese mind.

The Portuguese attentions were, however, not focussed only on the far east coast of Africa. In the sixteenth century they also colonised the Congoland, but their rule was short-lived, and in 1574 they betook themselves southward to Angola, which was that year opened by Paulo Diaz, and has since been a flourishing colony, in spite of the occasional squabbles with the native Bantu, who viewed with alarm the gradual expansion of the little Portuguese colony from the coast strip into the interior.

Once the intrepid Portuguese sailors had pointed out the way, other European nations began to cast their eyes abroad. The East commanded attention, and all eyes were riveted on it.

The first Dutch vessel rounded the Cape in 1596, on the way to Java and Sumatra. Many others followed it, and came back safely to Holland. In 1648, however, one of these vessels was wrecked at Table Bay. By this mere accident the future of South Africa was made or marred. The shipwrecked sailors were entertained by the native Hottentots for about five months, when they joined a homebound vessel. From this time onward, the desirability of commencing a settlement at the Cape, and making it a "halfway house to the East," became apparent to

the Dutch East India Company, and four years later, to wit on 7th April 1652, Jan van Riebeeck and 110 people—soldiers and artisans—landed at the Cape, and laid the foundations of the present Union of South Africa.

The districts round about the Cape were then inhabited by Hottentots. With these the Dutch seem to have got on tolerably well—at least for a time.

More Dutch people went out to the Cape.

As early as 1654, the Dutch colonists, finding the Hottentots indisposed to hard manual exertion, and being forbidden by the Dutch East India Company to enslave them, imported slaves from their colonies in the East Malay Archipelago, also from Mozambique, Madagascar, and the west coast of Africa. In the meantime, the amicable relations which subsisted between the Dutch and the Hottentots gave way, first to indifferent and then to hostile feelings, which developed so quickly that in 1659, or seven years after the landing of the Dutch, the two peoples were engaged in a struggle which the historians have been pleased to call the First Hottentot War.

A hundred years of the Dutch settlement at the Cape went by, and practically nothing was known of South Africa beyond the Cape itself, nor had any attempts, worthy the name, been made by the colonists to explore the interior. The only exception, is, perhaps that in 1685, Namaqualand had been visited by one of the Dutch governors. Such was the geographical knowledge of South Africa—a blank—when the Dutch rule came to an end temporarily in 1795, and finally in 1806, and the Cape fell into the hands of the British. At this time, the star of philanthropy was in the ascendancy in the British Isles and elsewhere, also there was a fever for exploration raging in the land. James Bruce, a Scotsman of good family, had travelled to Abyssinia and explored the sources of the Blue Nile—1768 to 1771. Mungo Park, a Scottish surgeon, had explored the Niger and West Africa in 1796 and 1805 under the directions of the African Association.

The movement for the Abolition of Slavery had been pioneered by Granville Sharp, and in 1788 Clarkson, Wilberforce and the Quakers had entered the Abolition Campaign. In 1792, Denmark had set an example to other European Powers by prohibiting the slave trade, and Great Britain was on the eve of doing the same in 1807.

Several British and other societies and associations had

planted stations here and there in West and Central Africa to preach the Gospel to the Africans, to throw light on the dark unknown. Men like Zachary Macaulay had sacrificed everything to the cause of rescuing Africa from the woes of slavery.

The occupation of the Cape, then, by Great Britain in 1795, and, finally, in 1806, coincided with a great revival—evangelical and geographical. Philanthropy and exploration were the order of the day.

South Africa, so far had not been visited by either missionaries or explorers. It is true the Moravians had tried to evangelise the Hottentots as early as 1732, but the Dutch had not viewed the step with favour, and the work had to be stopped.

Now South Africa, or at least the Cape, was British, and this was a great impetus to the British and foreign armies of missionaries, explorers, travellers, hunters and naturalists. By the united action of all these, South Africa was traversed in various parts, and its hitherto unknown interior laid bare. Its folk, its fauna and flora, its geography and geology—all were studied and presented to the civilised world.

In 1815 John Campbell, a missionary, travelled in Namaqualand and Bechuanaland. He was followed by Robert Moffat, who went first (1817) to Namaqualand and then settled in Bechuanaland permanently. Both those missionaries made a careful study of the people, and have left their thoughts in writings which are a valuable contribution to the literature of South Africa.

Dr Vanderkemp, a missionary of the London Missionary Society to the Hottentots, a man of profound learning, wrote a treatise on the flora of the Cape. Lichtenstein, a young Dutch surgeon and a careful observer, travelled in South Africa and has left a valuable book of his travels.

E. Casalis, Arbousset and Gasselin of the Paris Evangelical Society, went to Basutoland in 1833, at the invitation of Moshesh—supreme ruler of the Basuto nation. These missionaries traversed the country and put their discoveries before the world.

The Boer Trek or Emigration from the Cape in the years 1834 to 1840 led, indirectly, to much increased knowledge of the interior of South Africa. The Orange and Vaal Rivers were crossed at various points, the high ranges of the Drakensberg Mountains were crossed. Various Bantu tribes, some

extremely savage and hostile, others extremely mild and friendly, were met with, and the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal came into being for Europeans.

The landing of Livingstone in 1840 was the opening of the greatest activity in the history of the exploration of South Africa. This missionary went to Bechuanaland as an agent of the London Missionary Society. After a short stay, he penetrated deeper into Bechuanaland, and, accompanied by Oswell, he discovered Lake Ngami. He proceeded further north until he came to the Zambesi, whence he made for the south-west coast of Africa and reached the Portuguese colony of Angola. Thence he doubled, traversed the continent from the west to the east coast, exploring the Zambesi River from its source to the mouth, and so discovering the Victoria Falls. After some time he explored the Central or Lake plateau, discovering Lakes Nyasa and Shirwa.

In 1856 the Royal Geographical Society commissioned Burton and Speke to search for the African lakes. As a result, Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza were discovered and explored.

In 1873 Cameron, in command of an expedition to relieve Livingstone, started from Zanzibar on the far east coast and reached Benguela on the west coast. At this time also, Livingstone's work was taken over and completed by H. M. Stanley, "who in 1875 started on that journey which in its discoveries and its results is the greatest to be found in the annals of African explorations. He circumnavigated the Victoria Nyanza, circumnavigated the Tanganyika, marched across the Luababa (or Upper Congo), and followed its course resolutely and in the teeth of fearful obstacles until he proved it to be the Congo, and emerged on the Atlantic Coast."

Further south, Delegorgue, a French explorer, had travelled through Zululand, Swaziland and Basutoland in 1848. In this same year, G. Angus, a British sportsman and naturalist, had also explored Zululand and Transvaal, penetrated to the Zambesi, and travelled westward along that river till he came to Damaraland on the West Coast.

Other travellers, like St Vincent, Erckstine, and Captain Frederick Elton, mapped out the Limpopo River and Delagoa Bay on the east coast about the middle of the nineteenth century. H. Hartley also explored the Transvaal, while A. Randers explored Matabeleland and discovered Zimbabwe.

In 1865 Karl Mauch, the geologist, discovered gold at Tati. Previous to this he had observed some indications of gold in the Transvaal.

In 1871 he discovered gold at Barberton, and in 1871 he reached and explored Zimbabwe—previously discovered by Randers.

Joseph Thomson, Paul du Chaillu, F. C. Selous, and Sir H. H. Johnston are the more modern explorers of Equatorial and South Africa. The writings of Sir H. H. Johnston on Africa are familiar to all who have inquired into the literature on that subject.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN RACES

North of the Equator.—A few words may now be said regarding the present geographical distribution of the races and nationalities that inhabit Africa. In this way it will be possible to have a clear and connected picture of the relation of the Bantu—with whom we are here more directly concerned—to the nationalities round about him.

Along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and in Africa north of the Sahara Desert, are found races in which the predominant element is Caucasian. These include the Hamites, who comprehend the Berbers and Egyptians, and the Semites—Phœnicians or Arabs. With these are mingled a considerable amount of mixed population, tinged with varying strengths of Negro blood. In Egypt the greater mass of the inhabitants are Hamites, or Ancient Egyptians, who have a considerable proportion of Semitic or Arabian blood. Throughout the entire north of the continent Arabic forms the *lingua franca*. The second belt consists almost entirely of people of mixed blood—Hamite and Semite on the one hand, and Negro on the other. This stratum stretches from West Atlantic Coast to the East Red Sea Coast, and embraces roughly the middle third of North Africa. In this band are Mandingo, Negroids who, partially swamped by the Moors in the sixteenth century, became Arabic in religion; the Hausa, also mixed, but having more Negro blood than Mandingo, Fulahs, Sudanese; and on the east, Nubians.

In the bottom third of North Africa come Negroes proper occupying the lower part of the western horn of Africa. To the east come more mixed people, with a greater Negro complement, and further east the Abyssinians, an Ethiopic race, with strains of Hamitic and Semitic blood. Then, finally, in this

belt come the Somaliland people—the Gallas—who are a mixed people, with at least as much Asiatic as Negro blood in their veins.

Such are the broad divisions of the races and nationalities in Northern Africa, from the Mediterranean Coast to the level of the Gold Coast—the southern coast of the west horn of Africa. The three bands or zones described fall within these limits, corresponding roughly to 35° to 5° N. lat., and 15° W. to 45° E. long.

South of the Equator.—From the southern coast of Africa to 5° N. lat. Africa is entirely populated by the Bantu Negroes, who are thus found in Central and in South Africa. By the European “scramble for Africa,” the various members of the Bantu race have come to be ruled by various European Powers, and it is convenient to classify them geographically according as they happen to be in the colonies, spheres of influence, or protectorates of one or another of these various Powers.

Beginning with the Congo State, over which Belgium holds sway, the better known of the Bantu tribes are the Ba-Lolo, the Ba-Téké, the Ba-Nyasi, Ba-Luba, the Ba-Shilange, and the Ba-Chibokwe, out of a host of tribes altogether constituting about 30,000,000 people, in that thick jungle and primeval forest of nearly 1,000,000 square miles.

Next, stretching from 7° to 17° S. lat., in the Portuguese colony of Angola, measuring nearly 500,000 square miles, and with a Bantu population of about 4,500,000, consisting of many tribes, the best known of which are the Ba-Londa, the Ba-Kongo, and the Ba-Bunda and the Ba-Ngala.

Further south is the late German territory of South-West Africa, 326,000 square miles in extent, and about an equal number of inhabitants. These are, from north downwards, the Ova-Mbo, comprising the Ova-Kwanyama and the Ova-Mbamderu; the Damaras, comprising the Plain Damaras or Ova-Herero, and the Berg or Hill Damaras. These occupy, for the most part, the northern part of the colony, or Damaraland; while in its southern part of Great Namaqualand there were, until lately, Hottentot tribes or the Namaqua.

The Bantu inhabitants of German South-West Africa will be referred to again in a future chapter.

Turning now to the east coast of Africa: first, there is German East Africa, covering an area of 380,000 square miles, and lying between the waters. At its north lies that mighty lake, Victoria

Nyanza, which in size is equal to the areas of Belgium and Switzerland put together, or about half the size of England. On the west lies Lake Tanganyika, one-fourth the size of England in area, and on the south of the colony lies Lake Nyasa, in area equal to a third of Ireland. To the east stretches the Indian Ocean. In this German colony is a population of about 8,000,000, the chief Bantu tribes composing it being the Wa-Nyamwezi, the Wa-Zaromo, the Wa-Hehe, and the Wa-Swahili.

Stretching south of German East Africa, from the Rovuma below 10° S. lat. to Delagoa Bay, 27° S. lat., is Portuguese East Africa. The chief Bantu tribes found in this area are the Ba-Ngoni, the Ba-Nyanja, the Yao, and the Ba-Tonga.

The rest of Africa south of 5° N. lat. is under the control of Great Britain. In that area, which lies between 5° N. lat. on the north, the Nile and Lake Albert on the west, the Lake Victoria Nyanza and German East Africa on the south, and the Indian Ocean on the east—that is the area corresponding to Uganda and British East Africa—here are found that interesting Bantu tribe the Ba-Ganda, who, on account of their remarkable quickness in acquiring European civilisation, have been called “the Japanese of Africa.” Other tribes in this area are the Ba-Nyoro, the Ma-Sai, and the Wa-Swahili. The whole colony is about 1,000,000 square miles, and has a population of about 5,000,000. From the southern shores of Lake Tanganyika the British territories stretch uninterruptedly down to the southern coast of Africa. That portion of it above the Zambesi, known as Northern Rhodesia, is inhabited by some Bantu tribes, the best known of which are the Ba-Rotse and the Ba-Bemba.

The Bantu races and nationalities in British Africa south of the Zambesi are those with whom we are particularly concerned in this work. Other African races—Negro, non-Negro, and Bantu—have been briefly referred to merely to show their relation to the Bantu of *South Africa*, using that expression now in its political sense as meaning British South Africa south of the Zambesi.

These Bantu nations, then, include the Mashona and the Matabele of Southern Rhodesia; the Ama-Swazi, the Ama-Zulu, the Ama-Xosa, and the Ama-Fengu, along the south-east coast from Delagoa Bay to Algoa Bay; the large Be-Chuana nation, including the Ba-Mangwato, Ba-Kwena, Ba-Ngwaketse, Ba-Hurutse, Ba-Rolong, Ba-Kalahali, and Ba-Tlaping, inhabit-

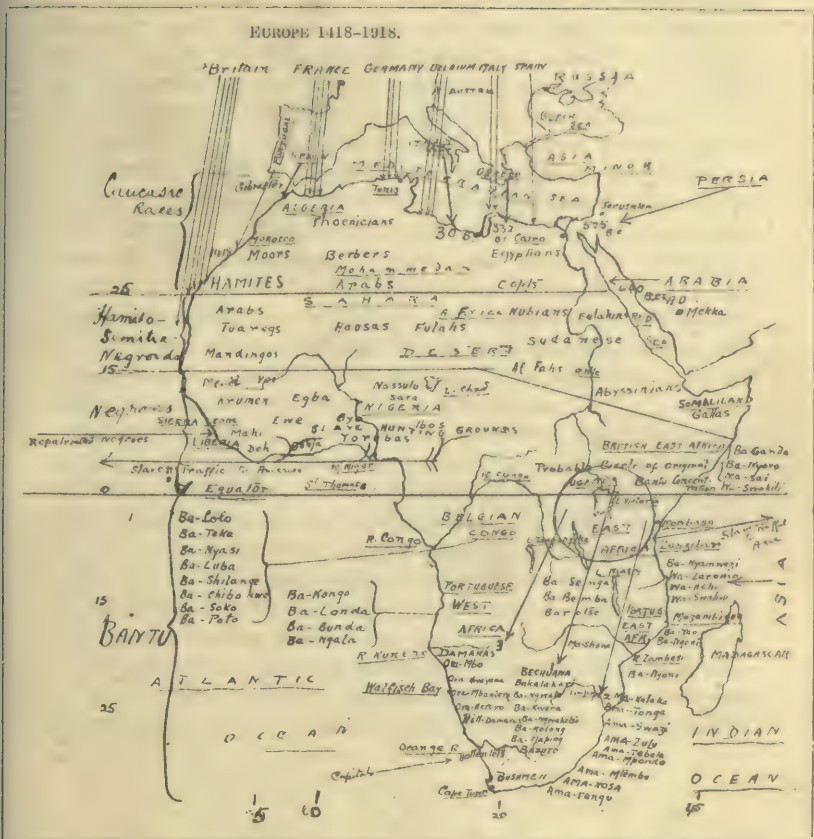
ing the large tract of land called Bechuanaland and parts of the Orange Free State; and finally the Basuto nation inhabiting Basutoland.

Scattered throughout these areas occupied by the Bantu nations, but especially aggregated in the Cape districts, and, to a less extent, in the cities and large towns, are to be found members of another nation, which, unfortunately, has not yet assumed a distinctive name, and passes by the amorphous appellations of "Coloureds," or "Cape Coloureds." Though these are not Bantu, they cannot be passed over in any survey of the non-white population of South Africa, for, after all, their fortunes are bound up with those of the Bantu, and will be more and more so as South Africa approaches the Southern States of America, where only two nationalities are recognised, namely, the American and the Negro—there where a "white" man with the slightest suspicion of "black" blood is regarded as much a Negro as the black man without the slightest pretence to "whiteness."

South Africa has an area of nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and a population verging close on 8,000,000, composed of white and black. Of this number only one-sixth are white, while the overwhelming majority of five-sixths is made up of Bantu and coloured peoples. The total of non-white population of about 6,500,000 is made up as follows: Bantu, 6,000,000; coloured people, 500,000, or a little more.

The Bantu peoples are "colonists" in South Africa. According to their traditions, they have come down from the north, and at a time about 2000 years ago they dominated the greater part of Central Africa, somewhere about the Great Lakes. From that region they migrated southwards in successive batches and crossed the Zambesi at different periods and at different points. What prompted their migrations southwards must for ever remain unknown. Perhaps it was pressure from stronger people on the north, or pressure of one tribe on another—the weaker finding refuge in migration southward. Whatever it was, the Bantu gradually moved south until they reached the south coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Now they extend uninterruptedly from the Great Lakes to the south coast, and from the Atlantic Ocean shores on the west to the Indian Ocean shores on the east. There, in these broad limits, they stretch, speaking languages so cognate between themselves as to justify the assumption that these millions are

EUROPE 1418-1918.



MAP OF AFRICA—ILLUSTRATING RACE-MOVEMENTS AND RACE-DISTRIBUTION

members of some common stock, itself a subdivision of the Negroes.

There are two other races which cannot be entirely disregarded in a consideration of the non-white inhabitants of Southern Africa. These races are the Bushmen and the Hottentots. We may speak of these races in the past tense, for they are some of what are termed the "dwindling races"; and more, they are practically extinct, and only their names remain to show that they once existed. Theirs has been the fate that is now overtaking the natives of Australia, of the South Pacific Islands, and of New Zealand, for the Kanakas, the Papuans, and the progressive Maoris are dying out. The destiny of the Bushmen and the Hottentots is that of the Red Indians—once masters of North America, now but little more than a memory. Their lot is that of Caribs of the West Indies, the Australian and Tasmanian aborigines, who have disappeared from the face of the earth—all dead—withering away, it is said, at contact with a higher civilisation, as if its glare and blaze were too much for them—creatures of the twilight and darkness.

The Hottentots, in historic times of South Africa, occupied the seaboard on the west coast, from the northern banks of the Orange River down to the districts round about the Cape of Good Hope. More inland were the Bushmen, who, prior to the arrival of the Hottentots, spread throughout South Africa.

Whether before the Bushmen came there were any people in South Africa or not is entirely unknown, and until evidence of such people having existed can be brought forward, we must content ourselves with the assumption that the Bushmen were the first comers to South Africa, that they are the *aborigines* (if immigrants can ever deserve that title) of South Africa.

CHAPTER IV

PRIMITIVE RACES

1. THE SANA OR BUSHMEN

It is now generally known that the Bantu are not the true aborigines of South Africa. Centuries before the arrival of the dark-skinned races in the sub-continent, the country was peopled by a race differing as much from them as they do from any other people. This race was the Bushman race, or, as they called themselves, the Sana. The name, Bushmen, was given them by the Dutch because they were always concealed among shrubs and bushes on the slopes of mountains. The domination of the Bushmen over South Africa lasted to about one century and a half before the occupation of the Cape by European people, and as late as half a century ago, or possibly less, Bushman clans were to be found scattered in most quarters of South Africa.

Their paintings, which form their trade mark and memorandum, have till quite recently been discovered scattered in the caves throughout the length and breadth of the land—proving a sometime extensive occupation of the country by this now extinct race. These paintings have, for instance, been found round about the Cape districts, Worcester and Beaufort West, extending northwards beyond Orange River to Griqualand West, Batlapingland and Molopo River; eastwards and north-eastwards to Transkei, Basutoland and Orange Free State.

The Bushmen were called Barwa by Bechuana, the first Bantu with whom they came into contact; while the Xosas called them Batwa. Both *Barwa* and *Batwa* mean men of the south. This may appear strange when it is stated that the Bushmen, so far from being men of the south, were from the

north. The reason for their being supposed by the Bantu to belong to the south is simply that the Bushmen migrated to South Africa thousands of years before the earliest Bantu pioneers, so that when these latter came southward at a much later date, they met the Bushmen at various points, and supposed them to be migrating from the south northwards, as indeed they were in a way, being forced to give place to the stronger Hottentots and still later to the much stronger Dutch settlers.

The Bushmen, then, appear to have migrated to South Africa at some very remote period, a period so remote, indeed, as to admit an error of thousands of years. Some think the date of migration thousands of years, and others, ten thousands of years ago. That the period is remote, however, there can be no doubt, as shown by geological records.

Whence the Bushman came is an equally difficult question to answer, but some scientists have come to the conclusion that the cradle of the Bushman race is in the far north of Africa, or perhaps beyond. Their features closely resemble the Mongolian, with the exception of hair, which is in curly tufts in the Bushmen. Their language has been found by the eminent philologist, the late Dr. Bleek, to be an old form of Coptic spoken in Egypt, and this fact, combined with the Bushman rough paintings, which are not unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, have led him to suppose that the Bushmen came from Egypt.

Professor Max Müller and Bleek have also found that in mythology and religion the Bushmen are closely allied to the Australians. Like those people, also, the Bushmen have a sex-denoting language, as distinguished from the prefix-pronominal languages spoken by the Bantu races.

Features.—The Bushmen were stunted or dwarfish in stature—below five feet. In colour, they were yellow or light-brown, never black. Their eyes were small and sunken. The hair was scanty, markedly curled and in separate knots. The ears are said to have been devoid of that distinctive human feature—the lobes, but this need not suggest that the Bushmen were not human beings. The abdomen of the Bushman was protuberant in a marked degree. This was accentuated by the general anatomy, which formed striking contrasts. Thus the back was deeply hollowed, and this was itself emphasised by the development of hard fat and muscles in the buttocks—the

condition known as “steatopygia.” The limbs were thin and wiry, the feet, hands and head were small, even for so small a body.

Bushmen were thus quite distinct from Bantus and Negroes, not only in their features, but also in language, religion and habits.

Habits.—Bushmen were extremely hardy, and inured to all kinds of hardships and privations. Their weapons consisted of a bow and a poisoned arrow. The poisons were derived from the animal and vegetable worlds, being in most cases of the nature of ricin, abrin, robin on the one hand, and snake-venom on the other. Indeed, the Bushman’s knowledge of toxicology and materia medica was quite respectable, being, in fact, greater than that of any other South African aborigine. Besides the above, the other poisons used by the Bushmen for their arrows were the milk of *Euphorbia arborescens*, *Amaryllis toxicaria*, *Amaryllis distichia* bulb, leaves of *Digitalis purpurea*, seeds of *Strophanthus Kombe* and a species of *Strychnos toxifera*.

Besides snake venoms, animal poisons were derived from poisonous spiders and rock scorpions. The poisons so got were prepared in a most elaborate manner, and used for hunting and warfare.

The Bushman not only knew the various poisons and how to prepare them, but he knew antidotes for many of them.

The Bushmen depended for their food mostly on the bounty of nature. Unlike their neighbours, the Hottentots, they kept no cattle or any form of live stock; and, unlike the Bantu, they did not till the soil. The food consisted of the flesh of animals, which the Bushman hunted with unequalled skill, for, if the Bushman was anything, he was an experienced hunter. Springbucks, duikers, quaggas, gnus (or hartebeeste) were all subject to the poisoned arrow, shot with surprising skill. Ostriches, partridges, and smaller birds were ever a ready prey; iguanas, lizards, frogs (especially *Pycicephalus adspersus*), snakes, tortoises, locusts, and insect larvæ—all were hunted and prized as choice menu items. A variety was afforded by various kinds of roots, like *Testudinaria elephantipes*, bulbs of the species of ixias, baobab (*Adamsonia digitata*), with seeds in capsules, water melon (*Cucumis caffer*), bitter melon or *khenge*, various forms of vegetables or *merogo*, shrubs and rushes, honey and wild fruits.

Let the proud White Man boast his flocks,
And fields of foodful grain ;
My home is in the mountain rocks,
The Desert my domain.
I plant no herbs, no pleasant fruits,
I toil not for my cheer ;
The Desert yields me juicy roots
And herds of bounding deer.
The countless springboks are my flock,
Spread o'er the unbounded plain ;
The buffalo bendeth to my yoke,
The wild horse to my rein.
My yoke is the quivering assegai,
My rein the tough bow-string ;
My bridle curb is a slender barb—
Yet it quells the forest king.
The crested adder honoureth me,
And yields at my command
His poison bag, like the honey bee,
When I seize him on the sand.
Yea, even the wasting locust swarm,
Which mighty nations dread,
To me, nor terror brings, nor harm—
For I make of them my bread.
Thus I am lord of the Desert-land,
And I will not leave my bounds,
To crouch beneath the Christian's hands,
And kennel with his hounds :
To be a hound and watch the flocks,
For the cruel White Man's gain.
No ! the brown Serpent of the Rocks
His den doth yet retain ;
And none who there his sting provokes
Shall find its poison vain.

PRINGLE.

Bushmen lived in caves and caverns on mountain sides. These caves they invariably decorated with paintings and drawings of animals and people. The paintings were sometimes imaginary, and sometimes they depicted some event in the history of the tribe—such, for instance, as a battle. These drawings showed considerable skill—that is, when the general status of the Bushman is taken into account.

The Bushman's habiliments consisted of karosses and skins of animals. The dress was, at its best, scanty, consisting in women of a square piece of skin or leather, reaching from the waist to the knees in front, and sometimes a similar piece at

the back. The men were even more scantily dressed—a small piece of leather, not much larger than a hand, suspended over the pudendals by a thong round the waist being considered sufficient for modesty. Both sexes daubed themselves freely with fat of animals, which was usually kept in ostrich-egg shells until it turned rancid and gave a peculiar odour.

Bushmen were, as a rule, strict monogamists, great fidelity subsisting between man and wife. These facts are interesting, especially in view of the fact that it is thought by some that polygamy and polyandry are attributes of those peoples on the first rounds of the social ladder, and that, conversely, monogamy is a production of higher morality and civilisation. Here we have Bushmen who, though allowed to be the most backward people of Africa, ranking with the Veddahs and the Fuegians, were nevertheless monogamists.

The Bushmen were peculiar in another instance, in which they resembled the more advanced races of Europe rather than the backward peoples of Africa. This is in the fact that the family was never a large one. Unlike many black races by whom they became surrounded in later years, they never resorted to the horrid practice of cannibalism. In fact, after studying the Bushmen, one is left wondering at many contradictions and antitheses in their customs. Among the lowest of the world's inhabitants, they exhibited some traits of the most advanced; such for instance is the inflexion of their language. Much lower in the scale of humanity than the Bantu round about them, they showed greater advances in some arts—such as painting—than they. While those people sank into cannibalism and polygamy, the Bushmen kept above these. In their folklore, too—in its abundance of material, wealth of thought and poetical fancy—if they did not actually surpass, they certainly were not surpassed by the Bantu. The same holds true of their music. Their language, too, like those of the most civilised nations—Hamitic and Aryan—was sex-denoting. These advances were unmistakably human—that is—they were not merely animal instincts, which are found to play a more active part in the economy of savage races than in the civilised. Such, for instance, are supposed to be the Bushman's wonderful power of endurance to privation, his remarkable alertness and keenness of visual and auditory senses, the still more remarkable ability that a Bush boy, taken to any place, under any circumstances, is able to find his way home in a straight line.

At the opposite end of the scale, we find that the Bushmen were an extremely rude people, among whom society was just struggling into being. Government was of the simplest and loosest kind imaginable, but by no means entirely wanting, as some writers have asserted, for the Bushmen were divided into small clans, each under a recognised leader or chief, to respect whom was a tribal or clannish duty.

The religion of the Bushmen was the fear of ghosts and evil spirits. They had a strong faith in charms and witchcraft.

The Bushmen of South Africa were, without doubt, allied to the pigmies of Central Africa, described by H. M. Stanley. It is also thought they were descendants of the pigmies described by Herodotus.

The Bushmen are said to have been thieving, cruel, untamable, and incapable of civilisation. Cruelty was, most probably, not inherent in the Bushman. Most probably it was a late development, kindled into being by the systematic persecution to which these people were subjected in the eighteenth century. Pressed behind by the stronger and more numerous Hottentots, and obstructed on the north by the descending myriads of Bantu, it is almost certain that the Bushmen found themselves at bay, hemmed in between two forces, both bent upon their destruction. This may be guessed or inferred from the fate of the other weaker tribes. There is, however, *something* certain, some important factor which aided the disappearance of the Bushmen. Whoever has inquired into the early history of the Cape will know that thousands of Bushmen, already a decadent race, were tracked to earth by the Dutch and destroyed like vermin. Cavefuls of them were burnt, and whole tribes were extirpated by order of a "civilised" Dutch Government at the Cape up to 1830 and 1837. It is calculated that in the space of ten years—1786 to 1795—before the Cape was taken from the Dutch the first time, 2700 Bushmen were destroyed and 700 imprisoned. In that space of time they are said to have killed 270 Dutchmen, stolen or killed about 600 horses, 3500 cattle, 77,200 sheep, and it was this stock-lifting which incensed the Dutch settlers to wage a war of extermination on the pilfering Bushman race. The treatment meted out to the Bushmen, of course, so far from stopping their "lifting," only stimulated them to redoubled activity in that line, and to deeds of cruelty on their enemy, his ox, his ass, or

anything that was his. All the barbarous torture that hate and vengeance could suggest was brought to bear on the foe, and very naturally, "and the people, frenzied by centuries of oppression, practised the most revolting cruelties. All this, frightful as it was, did nevertheless form a part of the natural course of affairs; it was the old story of tyranny exciting revenge, and revenge blinding men to every consequence except the pleasure of glutting their own passions."¹

The Dutch were, however, not to be outdone; they descended to the Bushman's barbarity, and put him to shame—when the civilisation of both parties is taken into consideration. Commando after commando was sent with orders by the governing powers to destroy the "pernicious nation," and each carried out its orders to the letter. Van Jaarsveld, a Dutch officer, especially distinguished himself in this direction. Man, woman, and child, all met the same fate. The Bushmen were overcome. Their place knew them no more.

Language.—The language of the Bushman was extremely rude to the ear, abounding as it did in hoarse gutturals, grunts, and clicks, all of which occurred in such a rapid succession as to produce quite a peculiar phonology. The language was further split into many dialects, some of which showed not the slightest relationship.

As mentioned before, Dr. Bleek found that Bushman language was a form of old Coptic of Egypt. It is a sex-denoting language, but has otherwise no highly-developed syntax.

	Masculine.		Feminine.		Common.
	Bushman.	English.	Bushman.	English.	
Singular .	Sap.	Man.	Sa-s.	Woman.	..
Dual .	Sa-kara.	Two men.	Sa-sara.	Two women.	..
Plural .	Sa-koa.	Men.	Sa-di.	Women.	Sa-na.

2. THE KHOI-KHOIN OR HOTTENTOTS

According to a popular view, the Hottentots immigrated into South Africa at no very remote period. Exactly when they crossed the level of the Zambesi—which forms the northern

¹ Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*, p. 392.

boundary of South Africa in the political sense—is difficult to determine, but it is estimated that this was sometime about the thirteenth or fourteenth century. One thing, however, seems certain, and that is, they followed on the track of the Bushman race after a considerable lapse of time. Some writers have imagined that the Hottentots were a mixed race, sprung from the commingling of Bushman and Bantu blood, but this view has been disproved on ethnological and philological grounds.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Hottentots gradually extended southwards along the west coast of South Africa until they reached the Cape, where Van Riebeeck found them in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is not known for certain where the Hottentots came from, but it is thought that they migrated southwards from the region of the Great Lakes of Central Africa. Their course was deflected south-westwards by their coming (on the east wing) up against the more powerful Bantu, somewhere about the banks of the Zambesi. They now moved on in a south-westerly direction, until they came to the Atlantic coast, when they turned down south along the coast. In this southward emigration the Hottentot race was not in a compact body, but the various groups were not separated by any length of time to admit of interception by any members of the Bantu family. Once they reached the lower parts of the west coast, however, the Hottentots had to clear their way before advancing, for now they came up against the Bushmen on the south. On their north—that is, following the Hottentots—was the western wave of Bantu advance; on their east was another body of the Bantu pioneers, by whom they were forced out of their way. On their west was the sea, which had forced them from south-westerly to a southerly direction. The Hottentots must now have waged war on the Bushmen, and gradually pushed them south, until they dispossessed them of the entire Atlantic seaboard, settling down in Damaraland, Great and Little Namaqualand, right down past the Cape of Good Hope to the extreme south point. The Bushmen had been pushed further inland, and were retreating eastward and north-eastward, and northward, to come face to face with the south-advancing Bantu, who thus called the Bushmen *Barwa*, or “men from the south.”

Closely following on the heels of the Hottentots, along the

west coast, was the western section of the Bantu, represented by the Damaras, who were themselves closely followed by their kindred, though hostile neighbours, the Ova-Herero.

Urged forward and onward by the Ova-Herero spur, the Damaras had, of necessity, to try and clear the Hottentots out of their way. They succeeded for some time, for the Hottentots were made up of small separate clans. A state of warfare continued for years between the two peoples. Many Hottentot tribes then became welded together under one of their chiefs, attacked, despoiled, and utterly subjugated the Damaras, who now, broken up, took refuge in the mountains and unattractive parts of the country, and thus became known as the Berg or Hill Damaras, to distinguish them from their kinsmen the Ova-Herero, who were also termed Plain Damaras.

Features.—The Hottentot was of a slightly larger build than the Bushman, but his body was slight. In colour he was yellow-olive or brown. His hair was in short crisp curls, his eyes somewhat Mongolian, his feet and hands small.

Altogether the Hottentots were slightly, but only very slightly, higher than the Bushmen in their social standing. They are said also to have possessed intellectual gifts and feelings of humanity, though they were exceedingly revengeful. Like their neighbours, the Bushmen, they are said to have been a thieving, lying lot, but Kolben states that "they were perhaps the most faithful servants in the world."

The Hottentots were remarkable for a great buoyancy of spirits and fitfulness of feelings.

Like the Bushmen, they were remarkable for their hardihood and power of endurance.

Habits.—The Hottentots had risen above a purely hunter-stage of the Bushmen, and were pastoral in their habits—their wealth consisting of large-horned cattle, in the training of which much time and keen pleasure was taken. They kept also sheep and goats. Besides, Hottentots kept dogs, which assisted them in hunting, for the love of this pursuit, principally as a means of procuring food, but also for sport, was yet very strong in the Hottentots. They also used the bow and arrow, this latter being sometimes poisoned, and a knob-kerrie or clubbed stick, was almost invariably carried.

The Hottentots displayed some of that cunning and adroitness in hunting which was characteristic of the Bushmen, but in a much less developed degree. Likewise, they displayed

also some of those pristine faculties as keenness of vision and hearing.

The food of the Hottentot consisted of the milk and flesh of his domestic animals, also the flesh of animals hunted and killed. Roots, wild fruits, bulbs, and various kinds of vegetables provided the carbohydrate moiety of his diet. Altogether the Hottentot was not so omnivorous as his Bushman neighbour.

His apparel was simple, and consisted of skins and fur karosses of animals, roughly pieced together. The women wore varying sizes of this, extending on the front from the waist to about the level of the knees. In cold weather the whole body was covered by a large fur kaross. These karosses were of all sizes. In cold weather the fur or wool was turned in to be next the body, and in warm weather, if the kaross was worn at all, the fur was turned outside.

The habitations of Hottentots were of a most temporary nature, being made to suit the nomadic tendency of the race. The houses consisted of a few sticks and saplings stuck into the ground and bent and bound together, and then covered over with mats and rushes. The Hottentots never stayed long on any spot, being always on the move, hither and thither, ostensibly to get better pastures for their cattle. Upon the order to move, the mats that covered the stick framework of the dwellings were rolled up and carried to be used for another dwelling.

The Hottentots were divided into many tribes and clans under separate chiefs. The best known of the tribes are the Nama-qua, or people of Nama ("qua" meaning "people or men of") the Kora-qua, better known as Korannas, and the Geri-qua or Griquas.

Of these, the Namaqua were most probably the oldest—that is, the nearest or most primitive representative of the original Khoi-Khoin or Hottentot stock. They were among the first of the Hottentot race to immigrate into Southern Africa, and after carrying on interminable war with the Bushmen, they settled round about the outlet and banks of the Orange River and in the country still geographically known as Namaqualand. From analogy, it may be concluded that the Namaqua paid allegiance to Nama—the chief after whom they have called themselves.

The Kora-qua or Korannas likewise must have been founded by Kora. They represented that section of the Khoi-Khoin which, migrating directly southward in the fourteenth century,

collided with the vanguard of the Bantu, who drove them in the south-westerly direction. The Kora-qua have more than once crossed swords with the central plateau Bantu represented by the Barolong and Batlaping.

The Griqua were a comparatively recent Khoi-Khoin tribe of hybrid or mixed descent, with infusions of Bushman, Bantu, and European blood. The tribe seems to have had its beginnings somewhere about the Cape in the late part of the seventeenth century—that is after the Dutch arrival at the Cape. The founder of the tribe was one Adam Kok, an ancestor of the Griqua chief of that name famous in connection with the so-called Glenelg Treaties of 1838.

As mentioned, the Hottentots differed from the Bushmen, not only physically but also intellectually. For while the Bushmen were a pigmy race, the Hottentots, though small, were not pigmies. Also it is said the Bushmen were untamable, while of the Hottentots such a statement would be inadmissible; these people having been decidedly amenable to civilisation and education. A Hottentot regiment was raised at the Cape and used in conjunction with the Cape Dragoons and other regiments in various Xosa wars. Also, Hottentot schools and seminaries were established by the Moravian and London Missionary Societies in early Cape Colony. At first, the labours of the missionaries seemed completely wasted on these people, but after some time a decided improvement was observable in the Hottentots. They also formed excellent servants to the early Dutch settlers, and made headway in the civilised arts, in spite of their alleged laziness.

The Hottentots were given to merry-making, singing and dancing, in virtue of their volatility of spirits. At the appearance of a new moon, members of the tribe danced and sang without intermission the whole night, feasted freely and poured forth libations in honour of Phœbus, addressed recitations to her, and invoked blessings from her. This would seem to suggest some form of Lunar-worship, degraded perhaps through time and disuse. Besides this, the Hottentots treated the mantis with veneration. When in perplexity they implored it for help. This insect has therefore been called the "Hottentot god." The Supreme Being of the Hottentots was, however, called Gounza Ticquva—an undefined sort of deity, who left the immediate care of the Hottentots in the hands of the spirits and insects.

The Hottentots, like the Bushmen, were possessed of great powers of imagination, as shown by their folklore, which was extensive. They had, besides, a rude lore of the heavenly bodies, to many of which they gave definite names.

Many Hottentots mixed their blood with the Bantu, especially the Xosas. A notable instance of this occurred in the reign of the Xosa chief Gqonde when he himself took a Hottentot woman to wife about 1775, then again the Amatinde, a tribe of Xosas, had a considerable amount of Hottentot blood, and the Ama-Gqunukwebe of Kwane were also half Hottentots and half Xosa in descent.

After living in a state of warfare with the early Dutch settlers at the Cape, the Hottentots gradually lost their independence, until they were partially enslaved and taken into apprenticeship by the Dutch in various capacities as domestic servants, farm labourers and cattle herds.

Mild, melancholy, and sedate he stands,
 Tending another's flock upon the fields,
 His father's once, where now the White Man builds
 His home, and issues forth his proud commands.
 His dark eye flashes not; his listless hands
 Lean on the shepherd's staff; no more he wields
 The Libyan bow—but to the oppressor yields
 Submissively his freedom and his lands.
 Has he no courage? Once he had, but, lo!
 Harsh servitude hath worn him to the bone.
 No enterprise? Alas! the brand, the blow
 Have humbled him to dust—his Hope is gone.
 "He's a base-hearted hound—not worth his food,"
 His master cries;—"He has no gratitude."

PRINGLE.

Those who were enslaved were descendants of the Hottentots who had resisted smallpox or escaped Dutch weapons, for in 1695 an order of the Dutch Government was issued that every male Hottentot should be shot, to discourage their marauding expeditions and thieving propensities. It was about this time that the Hottentots who called themselves Griquas left the Cape to take refuge in flight northwards, settling north of Orange River at its bifurcation.

Language.—The language of the Hottentots differed totally from that of the Bushmen, and was in every way of a higher order. Like the Bushmen language it abounded in clicks and

gutturals, but by no means to nearly the same extent. The language also consisted of various dialects more or less related to each other. Like the Bushman language, and unlike the Bantu stock of languages, the language of the Hottentots was inflected by suffixes, thus resembling the languages of Europe. It also distinguished by suffixes between the masculine and the feminine genders; that is, it was sex-denoting, thus again coming nearest the language of the most advanced races. Besides the singular and the plural numbers, it had the dual number also.

	Masculine.		Feminine.	Neuter and common.
	Hottentot.	English.	Hottentot.	Hottentot.
Singular . . .	Khoi-p.	Man.	Khoi-s.	Khoi-i.
Dual	Khoi-kha.	Men (2).	..	Khoi-ra.
Plural	Khoi-gu.	Men.	Khoi-ti.	Khoi-n.

PART II.—THE PAST

CHAPTER V

BANTU : BECHUANA, BASUTO (FIRST ETHNICAL GROUP)

THE Bantu people of South Africa resolve themselves into three ethnical groups of tribes. The tribes constituting each ethnical group are essentially the same or very closely resemble each other—more than they do tribes of another group—in language, character and usages, traditions, physique, geographical position and period of immigration. It is evident that the divisions are not arbitrary and artificial, but, on the other hand, natural.

These divisions are as follows :—

I. The high plains, with an average elevation of 5000 feet above the sea-level, and stretching from the Zambesi along the middle third of the sub-continent to 30° S. lat., are inhabited by the first ethnical group, which consists of two nations :—

1. The Bechuanas—comprising the following tribes, namely Bakalahali, Batlaping, Barolong, Bakwena, Bahurutse, Bamangwato and Bangwaketse.
2. The Basuto.

These we may also refer to as nations of the interior.

II. The eastern seaboard, sloping from the coast of the Indian Ocean westwards and upwards, to lose itself in the exalted heights of the parallel range of Drakensberg or Quah-lamba Mountains, and stretching from Delagoa Bay on the north to Algoa Bay on the south—that is 25° S. lat. to 25° E. long. This strip of coast land is inhabited by the second ethnical group, which consists of three nationalities :—

1. The Ama-Xosa, comprising the Ama-Tembu, Ama-Gcaleka, Ama-Rarabe and Ama-Mpondo tribes, besides many other smaller tribes.
2. The Ama-Zulu, from whom have sprung the Matabele, Ama-Tonga and Ama-Fengu.
3. The Ama-Swazi.

These Bantu of the second ethnical group we may refer to as the east coast nations.

III. On the west coast highlands in that stretch of land between the Kunene River on the north and the Orange River on the south lies what is known as German South-West Africa. In these limits are found the Bantu who form the third ethnical group, consisting of two nationalities, namely :—

1. The Damaras, who include the Plain Damaras or Ova-Herero and the Hill or Berg Damaras.
2. The Ovambo, made up of two tribes—namely the Ova-Kwanyama and Ova-Mbanderu.

These Bantu of the third ethnical group we may also refer to as the west coast nations.

We shall now proceed to consider the various ethnical groups and their nationalities in more detail, taking them according to the order in which we have classified them.

The First Ethnical Group : Midland Nations :—

1. Bechuana.

Bakalahari.¹

Batlaping.

Barolong { Ba-Ratlou.
Ba-Tshidi.
Ba-Seleka.
Ba-Rapulana.

Bakwena.

Bahurutse.

Bamangwato.

Bangwaketse.

2. Basuto.

This group represents the first wave of Bantu immigration.

1. BECOANA OR BECHUANA

A. BAKALAHARI

Bakalahari (or *Bakhalagadi*), called Balala (*i.e.* vassals) by the Bechuana and Vaalpens (or Fallow bellies) by the Dutch. These people represent the vanguard of the Bantu in the midlands of South Africa. They were, therefore, the first to come into contact with the aboriginal Bushmen, with whom they warred and fraternised in turn for decades or perhaps

¹ Ba- (plu. prefix) = Men or people of.

Mo- (sing. prefix) = Man of.

centuries. The Bakalahari occupied and still occupy the large tract of country known as the Kalahari Desert. This, however, was not always their home until historic times. They occupied the fertile districts of Bechuanaland Protectorate until, when the true Bechuana arrived on the scene, they waged battles and wars, which ended in the breaking of their weaker brethren—Bakalahari—who thus took to the desert. Some of them were enslaved, and hence the name “Balala,” which is a Bechuana term of contempt, equivalent to “serf” or “minion.” The Bakalahari have ever since, down to the present day, remained in a kind of vassalage among the Bechuana. Fraternising with Bushmen, they have learnt a lot from them in the hunting line, and the elands, quaggas, giraffes, gemsboks, jackals, elephants, lions, and other animals in which the Kalahari Desert abounded, ever fell an easy prey to these sons of the desert. The popular way of hunting was by making pits and covering them with rushes. This was done generally near a “vlei”¹ or “spruit,”² so that the unsuspecting animal, looking for water, met only death. The skins of all the animals killed were due to one or other of the Bechuana chiefs, to whom the Bakalahari were tributary. The Bakalahari special art is the smelling out of water. They are able to say what places contain water at no great depth. This water they draw by suction through reeds, and collect into gourds and ostrich shells. The Kalahari Desert is their fortress whose walls are the want of water. A pursuing enemy will be repulsed by thirst. The Bakalahari, like the Bushmen with whom they lived on very good terms, ate all manner of food, the coarseness of which made their bellies a conspicuous feature. All kinds of roots and reptiles were articles of diet. Like the Bushmen, also, they used poisoned arrows for the hunting of their game, and for warfare.

They were very timid and so far as possible avoided meeting anyone who was not either a Bushman or a Mokalahari.

The Bakalahari were also expert in making fire by dexterously rubbing two pieces of wood of “Moshukucoane.” One of the pieces was usually flat and was held down by the feet, the other—a cylindrical rod—was quickly revolved this way and that way on the other until, by the friction so produced, a spark was generated, caught on soft bark or grass, and thus fire kindled.

¹ = Stream.

² = Rivulet.

The language of the Bakalahari is a rude Sechuana. These people are, in fact, a primitive tribe of the Bechuana, degraded by centuries of oppression at the hands of their stronger brethren.

B. BATLAPING

Batlaping (Batlhaping), Men of the Fish, are an interesting people. They must have separated from the parent Becoana stock at some very remote date, for their dialect differs very much from other Secoana dialects, and more than these latter differ between themselves. In their habits, too, the Batlaping show unmistakable Bushmen and Hottentot influence. This is not surprising when it is recollected that, as among the earliest comers, but specially because they were always few in number, these people must have had much dealings with the more primitive tribes, in the same way as we have seen their immediate predecessors—the Bakalahari—fraternise with the Bushmen, and acquire many of their practices and customs. Their history illustrates that law by which the more primitive of the South African nations were conquered by their less primitive successors, who in turn were—unless great in numbers—subjugated by the more recent arrivals in the great theatre of immigration. In this way, the Bushmen were dispossessed by Hottentots, the Hottentots were in turn conquered by the Becoana pioneers—namely the Bakalahari—whom thus the Bushmen saw cause to regard as their avengers, with consequent exchange of good services which we have observed. The Bakalahari were broken by the Batlaping and other Becoana, and the Batlaping were subjugated by the Barolongs, to whom they had to pay tribute.

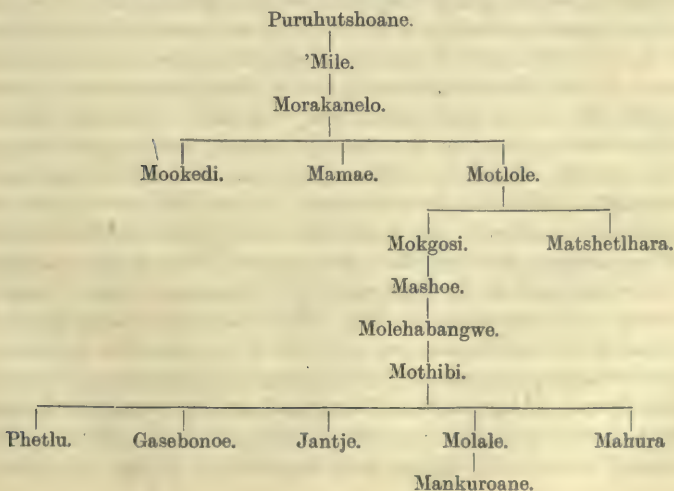
From their contact with the Bushmen and Hottentots, the Batlaping learnt the use of the bow and poisoned arrow, and added it to their other weapons common to all Becoana, namely the battle-axe and the shield.

One thing, however, distinguished these pioneers—Bakalahari and Batlaping—of the Becoana nations from the primitive people—the Bushmen and Hottentots—with whom they came into contact. This was their love for agriculture—which, however primitive, was on a scale that the Hottentots had never dreamt of. In other things, such as government and social life also, the Batlaping were far in advance of the primitive aborigines. But they were as far behind their brother Becoana in these same matters as they were ahead of the

primitive Hottentots and Bushmen. The Batlaping suffered very much at the hands of the Barolong chiefs—Tlou and Tau. Under Mokgosi, however, they seem to have at one time rallied, and by dint of strategy and bold *coup d'état* routed and repulsed the savage chief Tau of the Barolong, who with his people was obliged to quit his stronghold of Taung. This place has remained in the hands of the Batlaping from then down to this day, a memorial of their victory over their arrogant brothers—the Barolong—who had imposed levies and tributes on them, justly or unjustly claiming seniority of descent.

In 1857 the Batlaping were involved in war with the Transvaal and the Free State Boers, and it appears that they (Batlaping) were the aggressors. When the Free State was at war with Basutoland, some petty Batlaping chiefs joined the Bushmen and raided the Orange Free State farms, carrying away many cattle and sheep, destroying Boer property and killing several people—Boers and their servants. Having settled with Moshesh, President Pretorius of the Dutch States now directed his energies towards the Batlaping, conquering them and demanding an indemnity of 8000 cattle, 300 horses, 500 guns, and the ten ringleaders, or, as an alternative, cession of Batlaping territory. The Batlaping territory was all but proclaimed a Boer State when Sir George Grey's timely interference saved the situation in 1859.

GENEALOGY OF THE BATLAPING RULERS



The Batlaping were implicated a little later—1867—in the diamond dispute. They claimed part of the areas on the Vaal River, in which diamonds had been discovered. In fact, many Batlaping people picked up the valued stones and, little suspecting their worth, exchanged them for a few cattle and sheep. Similar stones to these afterwards fetched £500 and £11,000 apiece.

C. BAROLONG

These form a very important section of the Becoana nation. Their importance depends upon their great numbers, among which there nevertheless existed great cohesion. The people of this name immigrated into South Africa sometime about the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and followed after the Batlaping; the two, however, being separated by an interval of many years. The traditions of these people as to their original home are fuller, and corroborate those of the other tribes, to show that the Bantu all come from somewhere north of the Great Lakes and the equator. As, however, these people had no idea of reckoning or recording time, other than by referring one incident to another, we are left entirely in the dark as to when they crossed the equator, or left the Lake region, but as to the fact of their coming thence, tradition speaks with no uncertain voice. As to the genealogy of their kings, they are able to go as far back as the founder of the tribe—Morolong—after whom they have called themselves. How far such a person is mythical, and how far a historical fact it is hard to say, but he is said to have flourished some twenty generations ago. If we take a generation as anything between thirty and thirty-five years, this would carry us back to the twelfth or thirteenth century as the date in which Morolong lived and founded the Barolong. When they reached South Africa in the latter part of the sixteenth or at the opening of the seventeenth century, they were under their chief Ratlou, and later under his son and heir Tau, who, as we have already noticed, located himself at a place which still bears his name, namely Taung—or the abode of Tau. This place he was obliged to abandon by the threatening attitude of his erstwhile subjects—the Batlaping—as also by the discontent of his own people the Barolong. At the death of Tau, the Barolong were so numerous that it was thought advisable to divide the tribe between the sons of the chief. These were Ratlou II., Tshidi, Seleka and

Rapulana. How far this was peaceably or otherwise effected cannot be said, but this much is certain—the daughter tribes remained on the best of terms, and even united in cases of common danger. They also retained their common totem or *seboko*, viz. *Tshipi* (*Iron*), introduced in honour of their ancient chief Noto (*Hammer*). They also continued to call themselves Barolong, or alternately by their new chiefs, thus the adherents of Ratlou became *Ba-Ratlou*, those of Tshidi became *Ba-Tshidi*, those of Seleka became *Ba-Seleka*, and the followers of Rapulana became *Ba-Rapulana*.

Barolong of Ratlou : Ba-Ratlou.—These as we have seen were the adherents of Ratlou II., the eldest of Tau's sons. They settled in the country between Maretsana and Kunwana. Ratlou, their chief, was a veritable savage—wild and cruel. After his death, his people lived in comparative quiet, disturbed only by the general disturbing factor of the time—Matabele of Moselekatse—and one or two squabbles with their kinsmen, the Barolong of Tshidi, due to differences and disputes about land.

Under Moshoele, they were gulled by the Boers of Transvaal into warfare against the Barolong of Ba-Tshidi again. The Boers were anxious to extend their territories westwards from the Transvaal. Montsioa of Mafeking was an obstacle in the accomplishment of this great scheme, nor could he be persuaded to accept Boer "protection" against British possible expansion northward from Cape Colony. Force was necessary to bring him to his senses, and some of this force was supplied by Moshoele, who as an ally of the South African Republic freebooters was to get (so he was told) a fair share of the spoil in lands. Moshoele and his people, Ba-Ratlou, so far from getting any more lands, lost some of those they had to the Transvaal, while Montsioa was assured his by British protection, for which he had asked. During the Anglo-Boer or South African War, 1899 to 1902, the Barolong of Ratlou took no active part on any side, but their sympathies, like those of their kinsmen the Barolong of Tshidi, who were fighting side by side with the British, were with the British cause.

Barolong of Tshidi : Ba-Tshidi.—These represent that section of the Barolong who followed Tshidi, the second son of Tau. After moving from Maretsana to Pitsane, the Barolong of Tshidi finally settled on the Molopo River under their chief Tauana,

early in the nineteenth century. Shortly after their settlement there, the Barolong of Tshidi suffered fearfully from the ravages of the Mantasisi or Batlokoa hordes, who eased them of their wealth in cattle, sheep, and goats, and left them greatly reduced in numbers. About 1825, another and fiercer storm in the form of the Matabele invasion burst furiously upon the Ba-Tshidi. Their gallant chief Tauana did all he could to pit his wits and weak forces against the dread warriors of Moselekatse, whose course was everywhere tracked with blood. The Barolong might gain local successes here and there, and indeed their oral heroics state definitely that they were now and then able to repulse the Matabele with heavy losses.

Ke ngoana oaga mang eo
 Ontseng a golokoa ke lotalaje,
 Ke lohutsa loa nstha batho balala
 Loa ntsha batho dikhutsana bana ba humile.

Mogadile oa sebeela gaa gakoe,
 Fa o emeng teng go bonoa ka mokgolela oa marumo.

Nkile ka phunyaka Letebele phogoana,
 'Molaoa ka moisa sekiti.
 Choāna tsele, lekoa di eang, ga dié go jeoa fela
 Di ea go jeoa go tllhabiloé sekgoakga.

MOROKA.

TRANSLATION

*Who, oh! who is that unhappy child—
 Tattered and torn by terrible travail?
 'Tis us—whom Distress long hath wooed:—
 Once happy, now in misery; once wealthy, now in want.*

*But a proud man, injured, forgets not his hurt:
 His vengeance is quick, sharp, sure, and complete.*

*Thus have we often smashed and battered Matabele skulls,
 And thus sent those murderers to their fitting doom.
 What matter if perchance some captured our cattle!
 They must eat them in tears for thought of their own defeat.*

(AUTHOR.)

The ultimate result, however, was that the Barolong-bo-Tshidi were left considerably thinned numerically, and with no means of subsistence, so that many of them are said to have taken to cannibalism. Their kinsmen—the Barolong of Seleka

—put as much country as they could between themselves and the Matabele of Moselekatse, betaking themselves in a south-easterly direction, and finally settling at Thaba Ncho.

After many peregrinations from Maretsana to Pitsane, Moshaneng, and Gasehuba, the Barolong of Tshidi finally settled down permanently at Mafikeng. This place Mafikeng (the place of rocks) or Mafeking, as it is now popularly spelt, is the same as has become famous through its long siege during the South African War. It was founded by Molema, brother of Montsioa. He settled there with a section of the Barolong in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, to take advantage of the rockiness of the place in defending himself against the Matabele and the Boers.

Molema was the grandfather of the author, and perhaps the reader will pardon us if we say one or two words about him. It is not, however, solely from the feelings of loyalty and love due to one's forebears that we make a slight digression, but also and mainly because Molema was, and his sons after him have been, are, the corner-stone of the Barolong, as anybody, black or white, who knows aught of Mafeking will tell. Our subject, then, was the younger of the sons of Tauana, supreme ruler of the Barolong at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and was thus not heir to the throne, Montsioa, his elder brother, enjoying that honour.

Embracing Christianity about 1840, Molema became an evangelist to his people at Moshaneng, and so diligent and earnest was he that when Mr R. Ludorff of the Wesleyan Society, who was missionary to the Barolong, left, Molema efficiently filled his place. Among pagans, Christianity almost invariably splits households and families. In this case it split Montsioa, the paramount chief, and Molema, his brother. The chief thought Christianity was unmanning, spoiling his people—"making old women of them," as he expressed it—and was determined to forbid its spread; his brother thought it was ennobling the Barolong, and was as determined to propagate it. A dissension followed.

When the Barolong emigrated from Moshaneng, Montsioa with a large following went to settle at Sehuba, while Molema, with his adherents, settled, as we have seen, at Mafeking, where he founded a church and school, the building of which is still used for those purposes.

John Mackenzie, the missionary statesman of South Africa,

wrote of him in his *Ten Years North of Orange River*, that he was an example of the strength and power of the Christianity which is fostered by independent thought and humble prayer, and not enervated by over-dependence upon the help of the European missionary.

Montsioa had not long been settled at Sehuba with his section of the Barolong when he was dislodged by the Transvaal Boers, who had by this time decoyed the Ba-Ratlou under Moshoele to their assistance. The chief, though at variance with his brother, took refuge in Mafeking, and joined his brother Molema, who not only welcomed him, but now abdicated the supremacy over his fortress town in favour of Montsioa, on the stipulation that the latter would not interfere with the works of evangelisation and teaching, which had already made considerable headway.

Altogether this section of the Barolong had suffered great losses from the savage attacks and carnage of the Matabele of Moselekatse. The Matabele had now retired north beyond the Limpopo River, but the Barolong were destined to suffer equally great embarrassment from the half-civilised Boers of the Transvaal, who were for ever scheming and plotting for territorial expansion, and demanding land, land, and still more land.

The Boers, first by force of arms and then by cajolery and deceit, attempted respectively to awe and allure the Barolong into vassalage, and to extort levies and tributes from them. The Barolong, were, however, not to be imposed upon. Too well they knew what "Transvaal protection" meant, and so the forces of the Boers met determined resistance, and their overtures a decided negative. Now, the Barolong are a wonderfully peaceful people; in fact, so peaceful that when compared with the Xosas and the Zulus, and even the Basutos, they must be pronounced cowardly, or at any rate, effeminate. Here, however, we have them determined to defend themselves or die—driven to bay, and baffling the Boers. Ultimately, Montsioa feared greatly for his land and people, and appealed to Queen Victoria for protection. His forces, under the command of Israel Molema and Councillor Bethel had just been routed by the Boer free-lances (of Goshen), and Bethel barbarously killed by them. By an instructive coincidence which shows the Boer land thirst, Chief Khama had just about the same time addressed a letter to Sir Henry Barkly, asking for England's protection from the Boers. The result of this double appeal was the Warren Expedition of 1884 to

declare British protection over Montsioa's territory in the name of the Queen.

Under the British rule, the Barolong have lived in peace and made progress, though not as much as might have been expected. When in 1899 the South African War broke out, they fought side by side with the British forces to defend their homes during the investment of Mafeking. This will be referred to in a later chapter.

Besele, the son and successor of Montsioa, having no issue, was succeeded by his brother Badirile (1903). This chief, brave, educated, and a professed Christian, roused the hopes of Barolong veterans, who saw the nation stagnant and losing its place among its neighbours. The hopes so roused were destined to be sorely disappointed. Chief Badirile not only stopped going forward himself, but he turned and went backwards to the days of his less fortunate ancestors. He died in 1911, unlamented and unsung, and was succeeded by his brother Bakolopang—Lekoko, their uncle, acting as regent till his death.

Barolong of Seleka, or that section of the Barolong under Seleka.—We shall now trace the fortunes of those Barolong people who on the division of the tribe among the sons of Tau rallied to the standard of his third son Seleka, and are therefore called *Ba-* or *Bo-Seleka*. These people first kept near their kinsfolk who had followed Ratlou and Tshidi, realising, perhaps, that then, as now, union meant strength, and the stories then circulating anent Moselekatse brought home to them the meaning of that apothegm. Soon after, the country was thrown into convulsions by the Matabele depredations. In this terrible nightmare of carnage and rapine, husband lost wife and wife lost children. So the Ba-Seleka, in putting as much land between themselves and the Matabele, left the other Barolong. This parting seems to have taken place somewhere about 1828 at Morokweng, Maretsana, and Kunwana—places now occupied by the Ba-Ratlou. The Ba-Seleka went S.S.E. to Thaba Ncho, on the northern borders of Basutoland, and under the wise rule of Chief Moroka in a measure recovered from the losses sustained in their flight. At Thaba Ncho they were found by the Boer voortrekkers in 1837 under Hendrik Potgieter. Potgieter had been attacked a few miles off by the Matabele, and eased of all his cattle. Thus stranded and exposed to further attack, the Boers appealed to Chief Moroka for help, who in conformity to the Barolong practice of hospitality to

strangers of whatsoever colour, gladly sent heads of draught oxen to draw Boer waggons, welcomed the voortrekkers' families, provided them with meat and drink, and converted his newly-founded town into a regular asylum. The Boers were treated by the Barolong with a liberality that impressed them, and seems to have evoked a gratitude which lived for generations. When they proposed to stake their wits against the Matabele, on the battlefield, Moroka reinforced them by a powerful Barolong regiment, and the result was that the Matabele were routed and driven north of Limpopo in 1837. When, after recuperating their strength, the Boers moved along to settle down some distance from Thaba Ncho, help was again given them by the Barolong. Between the two, feelings of goodwill and exchange of friendly offices subsisted for years—at any rate during the lifetime of Moroka.

At that chief's death, however, the young Boers were imprudent enough to participate in the quarrels of his sons about succession. Two sons of the old chief Moroka, namely Tsipinare and Samuel, each thought himself the legitimate heir. The Ba-Seleka were divided between them, and a civil tragedy was soon afoot. The more unscrupulous of the Boers fanned the flames—perhaps mindful of the old adage, "When friends quarrel, foes profit"—and it must be allowed, if profit was their aim, they realised it, as we shall soon see. Tsipinare was surrounded in a house by Samuel's adherents and Boers, but so deadly was his aim through loopholes that he successfully defied his enemy for many hours, who now put the house on fire. The chief had thus, perforce, to walk out and surrender to his enemies. He was murdered with revolting barbarity, and even his mortal remains were not respected, for it is stated on unimpeachable authority, that after being shot by a Boer brave, each of his brother Samuel's adherents, both black and Boer, thought he would not have done his duty if his spear or bullet had not gone through the dead chief's body, and so all mutilated the remains. These things happened in 1884. Samuel gained nothing by his treachery, for President Brand of the newly founded Dutch state banished him, and virtually annexed the hitherto independent Thaba Ncho to the Dutch state. Here comes the profit referred to above.

Samuel betook himself with his followers to Bechuanaland, and between his new state and the Thaba Ncho people, bad blood exists to this day. Some who espoused his cause were unable

to leave with him immediately on his expulsion, and remained in Thaba Ncho, working much mischief, sowing discontent, and breaking tombstones. The tombstone erected on Chief Tsipinare's grave was twice broken by these desperadoes in spite of very strict guard. As late as 1916 hundreds of people have left Thaba Ncho to go and join Chief Samuel in his exile.

Shortly after their settlement at Thaba Ncho, the Barolong of Seleka found themselves in conflict with the Basuto of Moshesh about land. Moshesh claimed that the country beyond Thaba Bosio was his, and when the Barolong disputed the claim, he told them—"I lent you a cow to milk, but I did not give you the cow," meaning that they might occupy the country but acknowledge his suzerainty. More quarrels arose, and fights ensued. The Basutos were far more numerous and stronger than the Barolong, who at this time were led by Prince Tsipinare. It may be presumed therefore that the Basuto, who were under Masopha, the brother of Moshesh, were victorious, but the Barolong deny it, and in their recitative narrations the Barolong rhymers more than suggest that the Barolong of Thaba Ncho under Tsipinare were a living terror to the Basuto under their General Masopha. We give a sample :—

Tladi ea tlapana gegenya thata,
 U gakise Masopha gobalabala ;
 Gobalabala ga ngoana gase bothale.
 Tsipinare bokone ga a gopoloè,
 Eare ngoana a mogopola gotoe—
 Ao ! uthola u gopotse setlhodi
 Se tlhola se re faladitse !

Mosadi koeana Mamoletsana
 Kana u boatla jang
 U tsamaea u roma ngoana bosigo bosele,
 Jana ebe a jeloe ke sea dumaduma,
 Ke tau e sa dumeng Moroka—
 A leka mo bodibeng jo botala joa mangau
 Are "tloele" ! leka meritshanyana tota.

TRANSLATION

*Roar harder, Great Thunder ! and strike on, thou Lightning !
 So Masopha may stop his swagger and boasting—
 Such talk is but empty, and no index to strength.
 Sooth—Tsipinare's name's tabooed 'mongst the Basuto ;
 Its guardless, chance mention by one of that nation
 Evokes many a "Hush ! mention thou not the devil,
 Or he may appear 'mongst us, to cause more upheaval."*

*“Thou, too, Mamoletsane, art ruefully tactless
 Thus to have exposed our Basuto youth to distress,
 Thus, swallowed are they—‘eaten up’ by that lion,
 That fierce human lion, the tragic Moroka,
 Like those that have fallen into a fathomless abyss
 So completely are they gone—gone, and left not a trace.”*

(AUTHOR.)

After the murder of Tsipinare and expulsion of Samuel, Tauana, the former's son, became the chief of the Thaba Ncho Barolong. But now they had lost their independence and identity, and a chief among them was but a little more than a chief in name.

The Barolong of Thaba Ncho have, on the whole, made

GENEALOGY OF THE BAROLONG RULERS



more progress in European ways than their kinsmen of Bechuanaland. They have established on their own initiative an industrial training school which has done much in acquainting their young men and women with civilised arts and crafts. They cultivate the soil to a respectable extent, and raise all manner of cereals and fruits.

Barolong of Rapulana.—Those Barolong who flocked to Rapulana, the fourth and youngest son of Tau. In the confusion of the Matabele wars, some fled to Thaba Ncho with Ba-Seleka and had, of course, to acknowledge Seleka and then Moroka as their chief. The greater mass, however, remained near Barolong under Tshidi and later betook themselves to Lotlhakani near Mafeking. Here they remained in comparative obscurity. Twice, however, they joined the Hottentots and Griquas and took sides against their kith and kin—the Barolong of Tshidi, now under Tauana. They got a severe beating on both occasions at a place called Lithakong, not, however, without inflicting great losses on their enemies. The causes of these quarrels are not clear. Nor is it easy to say who the aggressors were. Certain it is, however, that the Barolong of Rapulana and those of Tshidi were on such hostile relations that the former gladly flocked to the Transvaal standard when the Boer War broke out in 1899. In this they saw the hope of avenging their former defeats. Their hopes were disappointed when the Boers were beaten.

D. BAKWENA

The Bakwena formed the fourth group or tribe of the Becoana nation, and in point of numbers, they were the most important until the inevitable dissolution and subdivision rendered them weak, and an easy prey to the assaults of their more warlike neighbours. The Bakwena, like the other Bantu, have traditions which show that they came from the north. Their arrival in South Africa must have been towards the end of the sixteenth century, closely following upon the Barolong. They called themselves Bakwena after one of their great ancient chiefs—Kwena (crocodile)—who must have lived many centuries ago. On their entry into South Africa, they settled about the headwaters of the Limpopo. During the reign of Masilo their dismemberment began, one of his sons—Malope—quarrelling with him and going off with a large section of the nation. On the death of Malope his three sons—Mohurutse, Ngwato, and Ngwaketse—

again divided the tribe between themselves. Thus the original Bakwena nation was divided into four sections, namely :—

1. The faithful who remained with their chief Masilo.
2. The followers of Malope who divided between
 - a. Mohurutse, these became Bahurutse.
 - b. Ngwato, ,, ,, Ba-Ngwato
 - c. Ngwaketse, ,, ,, Ba-Ngwaketse.

These three offshoots of the great Bakwena nation will be considered later, meantime we shall follow the fortunes of the faithful representatives of the original Bakwena nation. So great were the numbers of the original Bakwena that even after the division of the nation, they were still very numerous. Their prosperity was, without doubt, due to their peaceful pursuits, and the fertility of their country. No traditions of wars and other happenings are preserved, and nothing can be recorded for many generations between Kwena II. and Mochasele II., a period roughly of 350 years. All that is preserved is that such and such a chief was born, begat sons and daughters, and then died. About 1800, however, something more like history begins. These people were then living, as we have mentioned, at the headwaters of the Limpopo, north of Mafeking. By their industrious habits, they had independently made wonderful strides into civilisation, and promised to become a great people, when suddenly in 1821 their future was blighted by an attack of a warlike people called Batlokoa, better known as Mantatisi after their Amazonian leader of that name. The enemy made terrible inroads into the populous Bakwena country. Before this, the Bakwena were at almost constant war with the Bangwaketse, but these were more of cattle raids than actual battles and were never of a bloody character. They were now facing a war of extermination.

The Bakwena had scarcely time to bury their hundreds slain by the Mantatisi when a still more terrible catastrophe overtook them in the shape of Matabele invasion. Rally as they would, they were mown down by the followers of Moselekatse, and their country was soon soaked with their own blood. That to all intents and purposes ended the history of the original Bakwena. Where there were smiling villages well populated, now was utter desolation, except for bleached skeletons. All was quiet but for a roar of a lion here, and the growl of a leopard, and the prowling of a wolf or hyena there.

The Matabele, after their devastations, occupied some of the fertile lands of the Bakwena, planting their headquarters or "great place" of Moselekatse at Choaneng.

Some of the few units who escaped death by taking refuge among the neighbouring tribes were collected again by their chief. Others went to form small separate tribes, such as Bakgatla, Bafokeng, Bamokotedi, Baga-Molocwana, etc. A few others yet joined some other tribes desolated by Matabele and Zulus, and under Moshesh became the great Basuto nation. Under Sechele the Bakwena were visited by missionaries, and Livingstone laboured among them for some time. It was at this time that the Transvaal Boers under Hendrik Potgieter harried these unlucky people, waged unprovoked war on them, killed many of them and enslaved many more. During his short stay among the Bakwena, Livingstone witnessed and himself suffered from the lawlessness of these Boer desperadoes, and he wrote: "The Boers kill the blacks without compunction and without provocation because they believe they have no souls." They plundered Livingstone's house and carried off or destroyed his furniture, books, medicines, and stores.

Sechele was the first Christian ruler of the Bakwena. He was succeeded by Sebele. The tribe, however, never regained even a semblance of its former greatness. Such is the fateful history of perhaps the greatest member of the Bechuana family.

BAHURUTSE : ALIAS BACHWENE

As we have seen, that section of the Bakwena who left the main body under Malope divided into three groups at that chief's death. The first of these three groups followed his eldest son Mohurutse and called themselves after him. They also chose a new totem animal, namely Chwene or the baboon, and therefore alternatively call themselves Bachwene, in contradistinction to Bakwena whose totem animal is Kwena or the crocodile. The history of Bahurutse is that of the other Bantu; that is to say it is a blank for the greater part. Oral narration, unaided by written records, can never carry us far back. A few years, a century or so, is about all that can be preserved, and that imperfectly, by the best memories. The antiquarians of a tribe, who in their young days heard from their fathers the "glorious deeds of the past" as witnessed or heard of by them, are but pitiful repositories of historical facts,

both as to time and truth. About the Bahurutse, then, we may say briefly, chiefs were born, chiefs lived and chiefs died.

About 1800 they had come as far south as the valley of Marikiwe and settled near the Bakwena at Chuenyane. From this place they were afterwards driven by the Matabele about 1830. Like other Becoana peoples, the Bahurutse suffered much at the hands of the Mantatisi hordes in 1823, and later were broken up by the Matabele under Moselekatse in 1830. Previous to this the Bangwaketse under their warrior chief, Makaba II. were their greatest enemy, but Makaba's reprisals fade before the depredations of the Mantatisi and the carnage of Moselekatse. As with the Bakwena, so with the Bahurutse, and in fact, with all the Becoana tribes; when the storm and thunderclap of Mantatisi and Matabele savagery was over, a new cloud appeared in their horizon in the shape of the Boers—but slightly above Matabele in point of civilisation—certainly as barbarous as they in their modes of warfare. The Boers attacked the Bahurutse and enslaved many of them, taking over their country, which has ever since formed part of the Transvaal. As a people the Bahurutse have made no noise in the world, and besides noting external effects, there is little else to say about them. With the removal of welding forces like Moselekatse, the inevitable dissensions of the tribe ending in its "undergoing binary fission" took place. One section settled at Manoane, the most famous chief of which is Gopane. The others settled at Dinokana (near Zeerust), the best known chief here being Moilola.

BA-NGWATO

Ba-Ngwato or *Ba-Mangwato*, alias Baphuti (sons of the duiker).—Ngwato was the second son of Malope, who, as we have seen, wrenched some of his father's Bakwena people. The second portion of Malope's people on his death fell to Ngwato, and became Ba-Ngwato or Ba-Mangwato, and choosing *phuti* or the duiker for their totem animal, they are alternatively termed Ba-phuti. The successor of Ngwato was Mathibe. This chief had two sons, namely Khama I. and Tauana. Even before his death the younger saw no reason why he should not be an independent chief also. Accordingly, when Khama I. ascended the Ba-Ngwato throne, Tauana took some of the people, went north to Lake Ngami, and there established himself, his adherents calling themselves Ba-Tauana after him. Khama I. begat Khari, and

it is with Khari that written records of the Bangwato commence. Khari had three sons, and in those times when a chief had more than one son, a strife could safely be prophesied. Sekhoma, the third son, was determined to succeed his father, so he dispatched one, and was going to treat his second brother similarly, but that this individual, named Macheng, took to flight, became Moselekatse's warrior, and then came back to depose Sekhoma. He was too despotic and Matabele-like for Bangwato. They told him so, deposed him, and reinstated Sekhoma. Sekhoma begat one of the greatest Africans that ever drew breath, certainly the greatest Bantu Negro south of the equator—we refer to King Khama II., of Ba-Mangwato, about whom all who have seen him agree in conceding his title to greatness, and of whom Moselekatse said: "Khama is a man. There is no other man among the Bechuana."

Much trouble and friction arose between Khama and his father, mainly because as a Christian, Khama was divorced from the heathen custom of his father and tribe. When this trouble was over, Macheng once more came on the scene, claiming to be the legitimate ruler, but his suit was cold and unsuccessful. Under Khama II. the Bangwato have become a most progressive, peace-loving people, whose chief town is the largest pure African settlement anywhere south of the equator, with some 30,000 souls or more.

The Bangwato, in common with other Bechuana, have had their share of suffering from the Matabele marauders, but they have stood their ground better than any other. Khama's father defeated Matabele, and Khama himself inflicted a heavy loss on them more than once, *e.g.* in 1862 and 1870, which was the cause, perhaps, of the praise from grim Moselekatse. Those successes against the common enemy caused smaller tribes to flock to Ba-Mangwato for refuge, and thus also increased the general defence. Some of these tribes, like the Macwapong and Makalaka, thus came to be regarded as part of the Bangwato people, and were glad of it, for while other Bechuana would have treated them as slaves, the Bamangwato, by Khama's influence and example, treated them as fellow-subjects and equals.

Like the Bakwena and the Barolong, the Bangwato were much harried by the Transvaal Boers for many years about 1865–1885. These reprisals of the Boers, which aimed at annexing Khama's land to the Transvaal, were not decreased

by the discovery of gold at Tati in 1867 by Herr Karl Mauch, and of iron and copper in Mashonaland the following year. Things at last became so intolerable that Khama, in 1876, appealed to Her Majesty's Government for protection in the following letter to Sir H. Barkly: "I write to you, Sir Henry, in order that your Queen may preserve for me my country, and put it under her protection. The Boers are coming into it, and I don't like them. Their actions are cruel among us black people. We are like commodity to them. They sell us and our children. I ask Her Majesty to defend me as she defends all her people. There are three things which distress me very much—war, selling people, and drink. All these things I shall find in the Boers, and it is these things which destroy people to make an end of them in the country. The custom of the Boers has always been to cause people to be sold, and to-day they are still selling people." This appeal of Chief Khama, as we have seen, synchronised with that of Montsioa. It was ably supported by the politicians of the Cape, and led to the Warren Expedition in 1878 and 1885 to occupy Bechuanaland.

The history of the Bangwato (or Ba-Mangwato) nation is the history of Khama's life. This remarkable man was born in 1830, and converted in his boyhood to Christianity, and, as we have said, his abjuration of the evil customs of his tribe was the primary cause of his father's displeasure. He was expelled the country, but was later able to ascend the Bangwato throne. Khama has won for himself a reputation for prudence and practical Christianity. We cannot do better than quote Mr. Bent's words in his book, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, pages 23 to 27, about this chief:—

"I must say," he begins, "I looked forward with great interest to seeing a man with so wide a reputation for integrity and enlightenment as Khama has in South Africa. Somehow, one's spirit of scepticism is on the alert on such occasions, especially when a Negro is the case in point; and I candidly admit that I advanced towards Palapwe fully prepared to find the chief of the Ba-Mangwato a rascal and a hypocrite, and I left his capital, after a week's stay there, one of his most fervent admirers.

"Not only has Khama himself established his reputation for honesty, but he is supposed to have inoculated all his people with the same virtue. No one is supposed to steal in Khama's country. He regulates the price of the goat you buy; and the

milk vendor dare not ask more than the regulation price, nor can you get it for less. One evening, on our journey from Shoshong to Palapwe, we passed a loaded waggon by the roadside, with no one to guard it save a dog; and surely, we thought, such confidence as this implies a security for property rare enough in South Africa. . . .

“ Everything in Khama’s country is conducted with the rigour—one might almost say bigotry—of religious enthusiasm. The chief conducts in person native services, twice every Sunday, in his large round *kotla*, at which he expects a large attendance. He stands beneath the traditional tree of justice, and the canopy of heaven, quite in a patriarchal style. . . .

“ The two acts, however, which more than anything else display the power of the man, and perhaps his intolerance, are these: Firstly, he forbids all his subjects to make or drink beer. Anyone who knows the love of a kaffir for his porridge-like beer, and his occasional orgies, will realise the power one man must have to stop this in a whole tribe. Even the missionaries have remonstrated with him on this point, representing the measure as too strong; but he replies: ‘ Beer is the source of all quarrels and disputes. I will stop it.’ Secondly he has put a stop altogether to the existence of witch doctors and their craft throughout all the Ba-Mangwato—another instance of his force of will, when one considers that the national religion of the Bechuana is merely a belief in the existence of good and bad spirits which haunt them and act on their lives. All members of other neighbouring tribes are uncomfortable if they are not charmed by their witch doctor every two or three days. . . . On one occasion he did what I doubt if every English gentleman would do. He sold a horse for a high price, which died a few days afterwards, whereupon Khama returned the purchase money, considering that the illness had been acquired previous to the purchase taking place. . . .

“ There is something Teutonic in Khama’s imperial discipline, but the Bechuana are made of different stuff to the Germans. They are by nature peaceful and mild, a race with strong pastoral habits, who have lived for years in dread of Matabele raids; consequently their respect for a chief like Khama—who has actually on one occasion repulsed the foe, and who has established peace, prosperity, and justice in all his borders—is unbounded, and his word is law.

“ Khama pervades everything in his town. He is always on

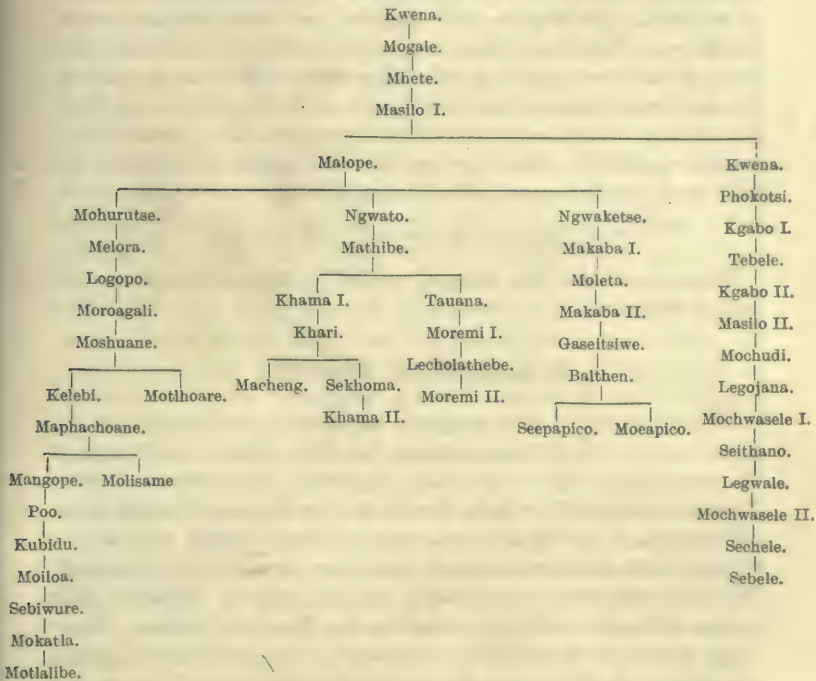
horseback, visiting the fields, the stores, and the outlying kraals. He has a word for everyone; he calls every woman 'my daughter' and every man 'my son'; he pats the little children on the head. He is a veritable father of his people, a curious and unaccountable outcrop of mental power and integrity amongst a degraded and powerless race. . . . Perhaps he may be said to be the only Negro living whose biography would repay the writing."

BA-NGWAKETSE

Ngwaketse, as we have seen, was the youngest of the three sons of Malope, the rebel son of the Ba-Kwena chief Masilo. Upon the death of Malope a section of his people followed this, his youngest son, as their chief, calling themselves, in conformity with Bantu customs, after him—Ba-Ngwaketse, or Men of Ngwaketse. Unlike the Ba-Hurutse and Ba-Ngwato, however, in common with whom they were a detachment from the original Ba-Kwena nation, they did not choose a new totem animal, but retained Kwena (crocodile) of the original nation for their totem, and thus may be called Ba-Kwena when there is no likelihood of confusion with the original nation who are Ba-Kwena *de facto*.

Tradition is scanty and contradictory about the doings of the Bangwaketse till the close of the eighteenth century. At this time they had pushed their settlements as far south as a place called Moleta, not far from their Ba-Hurutse and Ba-Ngwato kinsmen—in the north-easterly direction of their present chief town of Kanye. The chief under whom they then were, was one Moleta, and it was manifestly after him that the place was called. Moleta was succeeded by his celebrated son, Makaba II., who seems to have eclipsed all the ancient Ba-Ngwaketse chiefs. This Makaba also seems to have been a monster of cruelty, for it is said he killed his parents first, his brother next, and then his own sons. No doubt he would do this to make his position secure from possible rivals. He then began to organise the Ba-Ngwaketse into a military people, and by a series of forays on the surrounding tribes, he soon became a terror for many miles around. The Bakwena were the most progressive and prosperous people at this time; their heads of cattle were too great a temptation for the adventurous Makaba, and he accordingly lived in a state of continual warfare with them.

GENEALOGY OF THE BAKWENA RULERS



In two campaigns he also broke the Batlaping, who ever after hated him and his people. When in 1823 the Mantatisi hordes, after playing havoc on the Bakwena, swept down on the Ba-Ngwaketse, these people, under Makaba, put up a bold fight and utterly routed the invaders, who, retiring in confusion, were nevertheless able to gather up enough force by incorporating smaller tribes, so that, on their second attack, they defeated Ba-Ngwaketse, and killed their warrior chief, Makaba II. It is said that Gaseitsiwe, the heir-apparent, was responsible for this defeat. This person was at the head of the strongest Ba-Ngwaketse regiment and betrayed his people by leaguering with the enemy, simply and solely for the sake of succeeding to the petty Ba-Ngwaketse throne. When in 1824 the Matabele impis swooped down upon the Ba-Ngwaketse, this once powerful tribe fell an easy prey to Moselekatse's relentless war-dogs, and Gaseitsiwe had time to rue him of his treachery. His son and

heir, Bathoen, succeeded him, and was the first Christian chief of the Ba-Ngwaketse. Nothing that calls for attention happened in his time. He died in 1911, leaving two sons, Seepapico and Moeapico. The elder, Seepapico, succeeded to chieftainship, and being a Christian chief of some education, bade fair to lead on the Ba-Ngwaketse into civilised ways as Khama had done with Ba-Ngwato. Suddenly, in 1916, this promising young chief was shot dead by his own brother, Moeapico, with whom he had lived on the most affectionate terms.

“Brief, brave and glorious was his young career.”

The execution of the assassin in 1917 put an end to the royal line of Makaba.

2. BASUTO OR BASOTHO

The existence of this nation is a curious commentary on the history of South African natives, but it is unfortunately one of the rare exceptions rather than the rule. From the time that Tshaka ascended the Zulu throne to the flight of Moselekatse northward, a period of some thirty years, South Africa was thrown into upheavals which have no parallel in its history. Whole tribes were exterminated on one side by Tshaka's Zulu impis, and on the other by Moselekatse's Matabele hordes. Some other tribes were partially extirpated, the remainders giving themselves to flight or uniting to fight to the end. These feeble combinations were in every case defeated and massacred, and this was the rule to which there are, as far as we know, only two exceptions, and one of these two exceptions is the Basuto nation. Compared with the other South African peoples, the Basuto are a new nation of very recent formation, being in fact only a hundred years old.

Many small tribes who were settled on the Quahlamba or Drakensberg Mountains, and on the southern borders of Zululand, when dispersed by the Zulus early in the nineteenth century, crossed that range of mountains and put it between themselves and their assailants. Some of these tribes were as much Zulu as Tshaka himself. All of them now took to wandering, running hither and thither with only one concern—the saving of their lives. At that time Moselekatse revolted with his regiments from Tshaka, and he, also, crossing the Drakensberg Mountains, which formed the western borders of Zululand, entered the

country now known as Transvaal in 1823. At this time, as we have said, it was populated by the peaceful, prosperous, and prolific Bakwena nation. Upon these the Matabele fell with frightful fury in 1823, decimated and scattered them. Some of the scattered elements were collected into smaller tribes by their leaders, such for instance were the Ba-Khatla, collected by Mokhatla; Ba-Fokeng, collected together by Mofokeng; Ba-Peli under Mopeli; Ba-Phalana under Phalana; Baga-Molocwana under Molocwana; Ba-Tsatsing, followers of Mot-satsing; Ba-lete, followers of Molete; Ba-Mookare, Ba-Mokhachane, etc. All these tribes, together with those who had escaped from the Zulus, formed a mass of wandering humanity, and being distinct and ununited, were easy victims to the Zulus on one side and the Matabele on the other. It was at this time, 1821-1825, that the genius of Moshoshoe, or Moshesh, as he is popularly called, made itself felt. Himself descended from the royal Bakwena line, he now collected the scattered remnants, most of which, as we notice, were tribes of that erstwhile great Bakwena nation. He incorporated to them those peoples of Zulu blood who had broken from Tshaka's cruel and bloody yoke. Moshoshoe then repaired to the mountain fastnesses of the modern Basutoland—the Switzerland of South Africa, hitherto but sparsely inhabited by a few Bushman clans, and also some small Becoana tribes like Bataung, Baphuthi of Monaheng, who were a direct offshoot from Bakwena. And once there, he and his new nation were inaccessible to the most daring regiments of Tshaka or of Moselekatse. Hither Moshesh with wonderful foresight and address welcomed all tribes, whether of Bechuana or of Zulu stock, welded all into one great nation, which he called Basotho, or the black people. As the Bechuana element predominated, it absorbed the lesser Zulu and other elements, not, however, without a marked modification. Thus the language of the new Basotho (or Basuto) nation—Sesotho (or Sesuto)—became a modified Sechuana (or Bechuana language). As to get to Basutoland the mass of the new nation had to travel from north southward, they were called by their neighbours Makone, that is Northerners, or men from the north.

Such, in a few words, is the story of the origin of the Basuto—the youngest nation in South Africa, one of the most progressive, and the only one which will have its history fully recorded from the birth of the nation onwards, because that

birth was not in the hazy past and not shrouded in any Central African mists of centuries, like that of other nations, like Bechuana, whom we have considered.

The greater part of what remains of Basuto history is their struggles with the European people, and these will now be considered. In a new nation, comprised of elements more or less dissimilar, internal disputes and dissensions might reasonably be expected, but it is a fact that the Basuto never experienced anything of this nature. This is without doubt due to the fact that the very soul that inspired the amalgamation of the various tribes into one nation, was external danger in the slaughters and depredations of the Zulu impis and the Matabele hordes. Then again, from a very early period of their national existence, the Basuto found themselves opposed to two other serious dangers from external sources. First they were at constant dispute with the Barolong, who had lately settled in Thaba Ncho, and secondly, the Boers of the Great Trek, who after 1836 settled north of the Orange River, were a serious menace to the Basuto, for they greatly thirsted after land and slaves. Naturally these external dangers acted as binding forces, and made inter-tribal feuds and disintegration less likely, and by the time that external dangers were removed, the Basuto had attained tolerable homogeneity under the astute leadership of their celebrated Chief Moshesh.

EURO-BASUTO WARS

The first European people with whom the Basuto came into conflict were the Boers. These people had, as we have noticed, settled north of Orange River, having been the party of voortrekkers under Hendrik Potgieter. They were not long settled before mutual recriminations broke out between them and the Basuto. "The Basuto are incorrigible cattle lifters!" "The Boers are land grabbers and man thieves." "The Basuto tell lies!" "The Boers tell lies!" So the parties complimented each other, and, by 1840, they had a scrap on the battlefield.

In the following year a treaty was concluded with Moshesh, by which his country came under British protection. This, however, did not much improve matters, for a "triangular debate" continued between the Basutos, the Boers of the Orange Free State, and the Bechuana of Thaba Ncho. In

1851, the British having been drawn into the Boer-Basuto dispute by proclaiming a sovereignty over the Boer Orange Free State, entered what is known in South African history as the First Basuto War. In the interests of the Orange Free State they, reinforced by the Thaba Ncho Barolong, attacked Moshesh, and defeated him at Vierfort. So far, however, from this bringing about peace, it only aggravated the murmurs of Basutoland, and led to a second invasion by a British force under Sir George Cathcart (1852). This force was severely defeated by Moshesh, and had to retire. But the sagacious Moshesh, knowing that the pendulum must soon swing back, sent a note to his vanquished assailant, couched in the following words: "Sir,—As the object for which you have come is to have compensation for the Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. You have shown your power, you have chastised. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.—MOSHESH."

Writing later about his expedition to Basutoland, Sir G. Cathcart said: "Another advantage I gained was in the acquaintance with the Chief Moshesh, whom I found to be not only the most enlightened but the most upright chief in South Africa, and one in whose good faith I put the most perfect confidence, and for whom, therefore, I have a sincere respect and regard."

With the reader's permission, we shall now say a few words about Moshesh, chief and founder of the Basuto nation. Moshesh was born in 1790, the son of Chief Monaheng, a descendant of the royal Bakwena line (see genealogical table, p. 388). The reader has already seen how, by his address and sagacity, he formed the Basuto nation—for the rest we cannot perhaps do better than quote two passages about Moshesh. In his book, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, pages 252 to 253, Dr. Stewart, the greatest missionary educationist to the Bantu, says of Moshesh: "This remarkable man—sometimes erroneously described as a minor chieftain—presents one of those instances rare in African history of a native ruler, humane and sagacious, who loved peace better than war, and was always faithful to his word, and though living in the darkness of barbarism, dimly foresaw the benefits to his people of civilisation, perhaps even Christianity. He possessed the power of quickly converting enemies into friends, either by humanity or diplomacy, or both combined, and mostly succeeded, except with the Boers. He

first gathered the scattered remnants of his tribe and repulsed the Zulus, who were his constant enemies; yet he treated them so generously that they ceased their raids; and numbers of natives from other tribes were attracted to Basutoland by the mildness of his rule."

The second passage comes from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and goes:—

"Moshesh.—He was one of the rare instances among the Kafirs (Bantu) of a leader endowed with intellectual gifts, which placed him on a level with Europeans, and his life work has left a permanent mark on South African history. In diplomacy he proved the equal of all—white or black—with whom he had to deal, while he ruled with a rare combination of vigour and moderation over the nation which he created."

With the conclusion of the First Basuto War in 1852 peace had been established. In 1854 the British renounced their supremacy over the Orange River Sovereignty, and gave the Boers the independence they had long clamoured, schemed, and plotted for. The independent Boer State now called itself the Orange Free State, and renewed its land troubles with the Basuto. This led to the so-called Second Basuto War in 1858. The disputed boundary line was settled by Sir George Grey, and peace established for a time. In 1865, after much growling on each side, the Boers and Basuto once more met on the field of battle. The Boers were so far successful in this campaign that they annexed the western and extremely fertile portion of Basutoland to their Orange Free State territory, and could almost have dictated to Moshesh, who now applied to Sir Philip Wodehouse, then Governor of Cape Colony, for British protection. This protection was not forthcoming for some time, and the Boers resorted to their usual ways of getting land. They now wanted Moshesh, and all his Basuto, to become vassals of the Orange Free State. But too well acquainted with Boer methods, Moshesh once more appealed for British protection in words that have come down in history: "Let me," he said, "and my people, rest and live under the large folds of the flag of England." The Boers fought Basuto again in 1867 (the Fourth Basuto War). The British intervened on behalf of Basutoland, and put an end to hostilities, making Basutoland a British Protectorate in 1868 and annexing it to Cape Colony in 1871. By the Treaty of Aliwal North (1869) the part of Basutoland on the west of the Caledon River, previously

annexed by the Boers to the Orange Free State, was recognised as Boer territory, and has since been known as the conquered territory.

Moshesh, the founder of Basutoland, died in 1870, and was succeeded by his son Letsie. During this chief's reign comparative peace reigned in Basutoland, being disturbed only once in 1880, when the War of Guns, as it is sometimes called, broke out. The Disarmament Act of Cape Colony was extended to the Basuto, and they resented it and opposed it. After that the country came, and has since remained, under the direct control of the Imperial Government, and enjoys the greatest liberty among all native states of South Africa. Letsie died in 1891, and was succeeded by his son, Lerothodi, under whom the Basutos made steady progress. When, in 1899, the Anglo-Boer War broke out, Basutoland, though British in sympathies, remained neutral according to the desire of Great Britain. The loyalty of the Basutos was never, however, at any time questioned. Lerothodi was succeeded in 1905 by Letsie II., who died in 1913. The present ruler of the Basuto is Griffiths, a Christian chief, and a man of parts, who is doing honour to his illustrious ancestry and the memory of Moshesh as a leader and father of his people. The Basutos have demonstrated their loyalty in a practical way during this war, by donations exceeding £52,000 to the war funds, by sending men to France, "to be used in whatsoever manner the King shall find fit; for," says Griffiths, in true Mosheshic similes, "shall the Basuto stand by while the King's house is on fire? No, they must run to extinguish the flames."

REVIEW OF THE FIRST ETHNICAL GROUP : BECHUANA- BASUTO NATIONS

We may now review the various tribes we have considered and placed in the first group of the South African Bantu family—calling them Nations of the Interior. All these tribes, as we have seen, call themselves by the generic name of Bechoana, or Bechuana and Basuto, and speak practically the same language with but slight variations in dialects here and there. It was owing to this fact that Livingstone, who learned the language of Bakwena, and Moffat, who talked that of the Batlaping, were able to make themselves perfectly understood in their travels as long as they kept to the midlands. The moment

that Livingstone left the central plateau and crossed into Angola on the west coast of South Africa, however, he found that his knowledge of Sechuana was of no use to him, and he had to speak through interpreters. Not only do these various tribes of the interior speak the same language, but they resemble each other in their general appearance, in their tribal customs and character more than they do the tribes of the south-east coast, considered under the Second Ethnical Group, and still more than those of the south-west coast, under the Third Ethnical Group. In fact, individual tribes of this group recognise a kinship, or a more immediate relationship between themselves, than between one or all of them, and the east coast tribes or the south-west coast ones. The same, of course, holds true of those two latter groups. As a matter of fact, excepting a few who have made inquiries into the matter, the average man of one group recognises no ethnical relation between himself and a member of another group. It is manifest, therefore, that the division of the South African Bantu into three groups is not at all arbitrary. This is further emphasised in the fact that while a member of a midland tribe was at liberty to take a wife in another midland tribe, he could not go further and take one from any coast tribe east or west. The former alliances were encouraged, the latter were reprehended. Among the east coast tribes this peculiar Hebraic custom—so fanatically upheld by all Bechuana to this day—was much less operative, or is so now.

The tribes of this group—which we may speak of as the Bechuana-Basuto nations, seeing they were held (not to say welded) together by so many common interests—were further distinguished from all others by being, on the whole, more peaceful in their habits. As a natural consequence, and, at the same time, proof of this fact, they had made more progress in the arts of peace, and, therefore, greater strides into civilisation. They were more truly agricultural and pastoral in their pursuits. The extent to which they practised agriculture, even with their rude implements, was a constant subject of comment by travellers. In pottery, smelting iron, carving wood, and in the construction of their houses, the making of their habiliments—fur karosses, wrought leather trousers, tunics and gabardines—in all these they far surpassed their more bellicose neighbours of the east coast. All this would, of course, follow from their greater leisure afforded by peace, and would, in

turn, increase their love of peace. Mr. Stowe states: "Their country was such as would develop and foster their agricultural proclivities, and therefore induced more settled habits and a concentration of population around favourable localities, which led to the formation of their great agricultural settlements or towns, showing a more advanced state of society than that exhibited by the more primitive kraals of the coast tribes, who, until their contact with the white race, appear to have placed their chief dependence for subsistence on pastoral occupations. Such an improved mode of life, combined with industrious habits, which are inculcated by the necessary regularity in labours of the field, enabled them to apply their leisure profitably in improving their manufactures, and thus it is that among these tribes (the Bechuana) not only were their habitations larger and more comfortable, their towns laid out with greater regularity as well as exceeding all others in magnitude, but the most skilful smiths of all South Africa were found amongst them; they far excelled all others in pottery, and their wood-carving, as displayed in their ornamentation of their spoons and various wooden vessels, was unequalled, while even their superstitions had become more elaborated and defined. . . . There can be little doubt, however, but that this very improvement in their mode of life from the more purely pastoral pursuits of their ancestors tended, in the course of long generations, to modify very considerably their wandering and warlike propensities." ¹

The government of the Bechuana tribes or nation was, like that of the other Bantu, patriarchal (discussed more fully in a later chapter), but it had a distinct democratic touch wanting in the warlike coast tribes, for while among these latter the supreme chief was a despot, among the Bechuana his power was limited by the authority of his councillors—generally his relatives and other headmen. Any matter of tribal importance cropping up was discussed in the *kholla* (assembly yard) and every man present was at liberty to discuss the question freely even if in so doing he differed from the supreme ruler.

This practice of free speech made the Bechuana very able speakers—abler than those other tribes among whom the chief alone did the speaking and deciding of national affairs. For though it is a fact that the Bantu as a race have a natural talent for speaking, this talent was particularly marked among the

¹ *Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 418, 419.

tribes of the interior, including the Bechuana, and later the Basuto also. Rev. Mackenzie says: "All Bechuanas are more or less accustomed to speak in public, but there are generally in each town a few men whose shrewdness and power of speech, as well as social position, render them powerful advocates. . . . The evidences of clear-headedness and close reasoning in speeches to which I have listened are generally remarkable, in a people whose only training has been to listen to previous cases before the chief."¹

The character of the tribes of the interior, as compared with that of the coast tribes, is borne out in a striking manner by the type of great men each group has produced. To mention only two of each, we have, representing the coast tribes, Tshaka, chief of the Zulus, described as "a monster of cruelty," and Moselekatse, chief of Matabele, whose name is significant, for it means "blood-bibber," or "drinker of blood." Those chiefs are famous because of their military exploits and the gigantic slaughters with which they filled South Africa. Theirs is a fame for terror. If now we consider two chiefs representing the tribes of the interior, we have Moshesh, chief of the Basuto, described as "a diplomat of the first order," and Khama II., chief of Bangwato, known as "Khama the Good," and allowed to be one of the wisest and noblest rulers. These two chiefs are famous by reason of their administrative skill, mental and moral efficiency. Theirs is a fame for ability. In short, we have in this case, fame, and in that other case, notoriety.

Dr. Livingstone attributed the superiority of the Bechuana over other Bantu nations to missionary influence. He says: "It is among these people that the success of missions has been greatest. They were an insignificant and filthy people when first discovered. . . . The young, who do not realise their former degradation, often consider their superiority over the other tribes to be entirely owing to a primitive intellectual pre-eminence"; and he adds: "They are the finest-looking of all the Bantu family, but are timid, not to say cowardly, in comparison with the Zulus."

For the history of these tribes, it has been or will be seen, when other groups are considered, that it is punctuated by special incidents quite peculiar to this group. Such, for instance, is the period of their immigration, which is before that of the east coast group, and distinct from that of the west coast group

¹ *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 373, 374.

of tribes. Such is the peculiarity of their language and their manufactures, their character—and at a much later date, it will have been seen how their suffering was common to all—coming in a regular circuit of the Mantatisi invasion, Matabele massacres, Boer reprisals, and, finally, British suzerainty.

We may, at this point, consider two tribes which we cannot put in any of the three ethnical groups which we have specified. These two tribes are the Makalaka and the Mashona. Their date of arrival in Southern Africa is much more recent than that of the other tribes; their abode is in Southern Rhodesia, south-eastwards to the Indian Ocean.

MAKALAKA OR BAKALANGA

This was the name of a powerful tribe in the midlands, between the Zambesi and the Limpopo Rivers—that is in Southern Rhodesia. Now the name is applied indiscriminately by Bechuana to tribes living north of them who have been enslaved and degraded, so that the name now is almost synonymous with “serfs.” The true Makalaka, as the derivation of their name (Baka-Langa)—people of Langa (sun)—would seem to suggest, were in all probability members of the eastern group of tribes, of whom they formed the rear column in the southward migration. They were, however, cut off from the east coast tribes by considerable gaps of space and time, and came, in customs at any rate, very much to resemble the Bechuana tribes. It was with these people that the Portuguese came into contact three and a half centuries ago. They were the subjects of the famous Monomatapa dynasty.

It is in the original country of the Makalaka that the wonderful ruins of Zimbabwe are found in the Southern Rhodesia. Makalanga were a large and progressive tribe, until their “empire” broke up, and they were ruined by their more warlike neighbours, as the Bangoni under Zwangendaba (1825), the Makololo of Sebitloane (or Sebituane) (1830), and Matabele of Moselekatse (1838). Like their neighbours—the Mashona—Makalaka were stopped in their onward march. Once among the foremost of African people, they were now forced down to grovel in ignominy. “They were now a miserable race of outcasts fleeing to the mountain fastnesses on the approach of a Matabele raid, hounded and robbed until there was no more spirit in them.”

The Makalaka had perhaps more infusion of foreign blood than any other Bantu tribe. From the earliest time, the Asiatics who traded in East Africa, and later the Portuguese, freely mixed their blood with them—producing a mongrel race, neither Asiatic, European, nor African.

The Portuguese came into contact with Makalaka at the opening of the sixteenth century, when the former established settlements on the south-west coast of Africa. At first the Portuguese and Makalaka got on well together, and carried on trade—the Portuguese buying gold and ivory from the Makalaka. Portuguese missionaries—Jesuits and Dominicans—next went among the Makalaka to evangelise them.

About the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese abandoned the purchase of gold and ivory, and resorted to the more lucrative slave trade. Many Makalaka were thus captured and shipped off to Brazil and other parts of America. At this time most of the Makalaka retired far inland from the coast lands. Constant friction now existed between the Portuguese and the Makalaka.

MASHONA

Prior to the flight of Matabele northwards from the voortrekkers in 1837, the country now known as Matabeleland in Southern Rhodesia was occupied by a tribe called Mashona. Closely contiguous and in a measure mixed with this tribe was another—the Makalaka tribe, above considered—on their eastern borders. These Makalaka were evidently the earlier settlers on the land, and therefore occupied a greater area of country stretching right on to the sea on the east coast. The Mashonas were comparatively new in the land, and must have crossed the Zambesi about the eighteenth century. Whence they came must be even a greater matter for speculation, for tradition is but narrow among these people. They are said to have come down from the north-westerly direction under their chief Sakavunza. Be that as it may, the Mashona were perhaps the most progressive people of Negro descent. They alone of all Bantu nations are authentically reported to have practised cloth weaving. They are allowed to have been skilful workers in iron, far excelling even such supposed masters as the Bechuana in the art of extracting, smelting, and forging iron, and, therefore, in the finish of their iron utensils.

It is remarkable that the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe, discovered by Herr Karl Mauch in 1871, should be in the country occupied by this, perhaps one of the most independently civilised nations of African descent. Zimbabwe—that Eldorado of the early Portuguese and Dutch settlers in Southern Africa, the supposed Ophir of King Solomon, the palace of Queen of Sheba. Zimbabwe—the supposed remains of a very great and very ancient civilisation—an eastern civilisation. The latest archæological researches show that the ruins are neither so mysterious nor so ancient as they have been supposed; that they are not eastern or anything else, but African in origin. More precisely, they show a rude civilisation in which geometry was unknown, they are remains of mediæval structures, and they were built by a Bantu people—the natives of South Africa. The Mashona, however, only arrived in the eighteenth century. Who occupied the country before them? Makalaka;—and who before? Both Mashona and Makalaka have skill in working minerals, including gold, of which Zimbabwe must have sometime given plenty.

Mashona were a peaceful and mild people. They suffered greatly under the Matabele yoke since 1838, and were robbed by those plunderers of their country and possessions; were partially extirpated and enslaved by means of periodic raids until 1890, when they were taken under British protection.

The Mashona had by this time, in a short space of forty years, become degraded. Once amongst the foremost Africans, they now took a back seat.

CHAPTER VI

BANTU : XOSAS, ZULUS (SECOND ETHNICAL GROUP)

II. The Second Ethnical Group : along the east coast—

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1. Ama-Xosa | { | Ama-Gcaleka. ¹ |
| | | Ama-Rarabe. |
| | | Ama-Tembu. |
| | | Ama-Mpondo. |
| 2. 'Ama-Zulu | { | Matebele. |
| | | Ama-Fengu. |
| 3. Ama-Swazi. | | |

This group represents the second wave of Bantu immigration.

1. AMA-XOSA OR XOSAS

The tribe which calls itself by this name has traditions that it was founded by one Zwide, who was, however, eclipsed by his son—Xosa—after whom they have called themselves. Zwide had, however, three sons, namely Mtembu, Xosa, and Mpondo, in that order of seniority. These three divided their father's tribe between themselves—the adherents of Mtembu calling themselves Ama-Tembu, those of Xosa—Ama-Xosa, and the followers of Mpondo called themselves Ama-Mpondo. An offshoot of this last tribe acquired independence and called itself Ama-Pondomisi. Xosa, however, with the tribe which he founded, is the hero that immediately commands our attention. This traditional chief seems to have lived somewhere about the Great Lakes in the shadowy past, perhaps during the fourteenth century. Tradition has no more to say about him and his successors down to Togu—an interval of some six generations, or about two hundred years. Tradition can furnish little more than the names of the five intervening chiefs. Indeed, it is reported that during the infancy of Tshawe—the fourth

¹ Ama- (plu. prefix) = People or men of.
Um- (sing. prefix) = Man of.

from Xosa—there was a plot to murder him, when his mother escaped with him to a neighbouring tribe, and sojourned there till Tshawe was a man, when he came back and deposed his brothers, succeeding thus to the Xosa throne. Under Togu, the Xosas had advanced as far south as the Kei River—about 1687. Togu was succeeded by his son Gconde. This chief, it appears, advanced his tribe to Umtata. With a view to increasing his tribe, he made alliance with the Hottentots, and took a Hottentot woman as one of his wives. He had three sons—Tshiwo, his heir and successor by his great wife, Umdange, the founder of Imidange tribe, and Tinde, the founder of Amatinde tribe, by his Hottentot wife. Gconde succeeded in incorporating to, and amalgamating with his people, the powerful Hottentot tribe from whom he had taken a wife. His son and heir—Tshiwo—did not reign long, but during his reign, an incident worthy of notice happened. This was the formation of a new tribe under a person not of royal blood. It appears that several people had been accused of witchcraft and similar practices, and had been duly sentenced to death. One Kwane, a councillor of Tshiwo, was entrusted with the carrying out of the death sentence; by being a noble-hearted and sympathetic man, he contrived that the accused people should slip through his fingers and escape. So they did, and took refuge among a neighbouring Hottentot tribe, by whom they were welcomed, and provided with the necessaries of life—including wives. Some time after, Tshiwo was involved in war with a neighbouring tribe, and being hard pressed, Kwane called upon those he had saved to help his master. This they gladly did, and turned the scales against the enemy. In recognition of Kwane's loyalty and good services, Tshiwo made him chief over a section of his own people. This new tribe now, with Kwane as its leader, called itself Amangqunukwebe. They were at a later date subjugated and incorporated by the Ama-Rarabe under their chief and founder—Rarabe himself.

Tshiwo was succeeded by his son Palo, but as Palo was only a baby when his father died, his half-brother, Gwali, was appointed regent. Gwali, being an ambitious and unscrupulous man, attempted to assassinate the baby chief, but being found out, he fled the country, taking part of the tribe with him and joining the Amatinde, with whom he crossed the Kei. The Amatinde, already with strains of Hottentot blood, further strengthened the infusion by intermarrying with their Hottentot

allies. Palo grew to be a man, and succeeded to the throne, ruled, and died.

2. Palo had three sons, namely Gealaka, Rarabe, and Langa. The first two, or rather their descendants, have played a very active part in the history of the Xosas, and will therefore be considered more in detail. As for Langa, his father provided for him as Napoleon meant to do for his son the ill-fated "King of Rome." Palo was the eldest (in descent) of the three sons of Tshiwo, the other two being Gwali and Tiso. We have seen how Gwali, as regent, by attempting to kill the rightful heir, was obliged to fly. As for Tiso, he had been given a section of his father's people, who at a later date lost their identity to Ama-Rarabe. These became the Amambula.

Now Tiso died without issue and Palo made his own son, Langa, the chief of Amambula. We shall now follow the fortunes of his other two sons; first Gealeka, who founded the Ama-Gealeka, and then Rarabe who founded a host of tribes collectively termed Ama-Rarabe.

AMA-GCALEKA

Before Palo died he divided part of his tribe between his two sons Gealeka and Rarabe. The settlement between these was finished on the battlefield about 1750, whence Gealeka crossed the Kei with his people, while Rarabe with his adherents settled between the Keiskama and the Buffalo Rivers, Palo himself occupying the Buffalo basin and the Amatola Range. The Gealeka headquarters across the Kei were at this time at a place called Komgha, but after the death of their chief, Gealeka, in 1790, his son and successor, Kawuta, moved the tribe to Butterworth, where he lived peacefully until his death in 1804. Hintsa, the new chief, was destined to play a very active part in the border wars of 1820-1835.

In 1818 he joined Ndlambe in his fight against his nephew Ngqika, chief of the Amararabe people, who now called themselves Ama-Ngqika, after their chief. This action of Hintsa and his subjects, Ama-Gealeka, was without doubt actuated by the action of Lord Charles Somerset, the then Governor of the Cape, in proclaiming Ngqika supreme chief of all the Ama-Xosa. Now by Xosa and, in fact, all Bantu traditions, the Gealeka chief—Hintsa—who was descended from the elder of the two brothers, as the Ama-Ngqika chief—Ngqika—was

descended from the younger (see genealogical table page 389). The Gcaleka chief was recognised as taking the first place in all matters social and political, and especially the latter. To go contrary to this, was, among the Xosas, as all Bantu, the grossest indignity that could be directed at them, and the action of Ngqika in consenting to be chief over his superiors was a deliberate violation of traditional law, an act which cried for immediate retribution.

So far as the Xosa wars are concerned the Ama-Gcaleka have not played so active a part as the Ama-Rarabe. This is partly due to the fact that, being far across the Kei, they were far removed from the borders of Cape Colony, which formed the theatre of Xosa wars. We shall find, nevertheless, in a future chapter that Hintsa and Kreli—Gcaleka rulers—made some noise.

AMA-RARABE

These, as we have noticed, were a tribe founded by Rarabe, the son of Palo and half-brother of Gcaleka. Rarabe was a brave man and had many other qualities which made him popular. In this way he quickly rose in the estimation of his and other people, and became powerful. So far as the latter history of the Xosa wars goes, there is no tribe which figures so prominently as the Amararabe. Rarabe no sooner got to power than he waged war against his royal brother Gcaleka, but later betook himself and his adherents to Tsomo in 1775, where he fell on and vanquished the Amatembu under Daba. He also subjugated many other smaller tribes like the Amagwali, Imidange, Amagqunukwebe, Amambala and Amatinde. These he later incorporated and so increased his following. About this time Rarabe's son was killed by the neighbouring Tembu tribe, and accordingly the warrior chief fell upon them to avenge his son's death. In this battle, which was fought on the Kei, the Amararabe purchased victory very dearly, for their popular chief Rarabe was killed (1780). His son Umlao, who predeceased him, had left a baby boy, Ngqika, and this individual was thus heir to the throne of Amararabe, but as he was very young, his uncle—Ndlambe—was made regent by popular consent. Ndlambe was a talented man and knew how to get into favour. He let no opportunity pass by which he saw a chance of increasing his power. In pursuance of this policy he made his own son chief over a tribe whose

ruler, Cebo, a half-brother of Ndlambe, had died without issue. So popular and powerful did he become that when the rightful heir had become of age, he (Ndlambe) refused to resign the regency. This infamous conduct naturally led to strife which ended in a division of the Amararabe between the two disputants. The section which followed Ndlambe becoming the *Ama-Ndlambe*, while the adherents of Ngqika became *Ama-Ngqika*.

AMA-NGQIKA SECTION OF AMA-RARABE

Ngqika, the rightful heir, had by far the larger following in this partition of his father's tribe, and in the civil war which ensued (1796) he not only vanquished the rebel *Ama-Ndlambe*, but he captured Ndlambe himself, and put him under surveillance for a period of about two years, during which, however, it is stated he treated him with the greatest consideration, and tried to bring him to reason. All, however, was of no avail. It is stated on good authority that Ngqika committed the indiscretion of falling in love with one of his uncle, and prisoner, Ndlambe's wives, and bringing her into his household. This mean action temporarily threw Ngqika into disfavour, and aroused sympathy for Ndlambe, who used this as a means of obtaining his liberty, got free and immediately organised a powerful combination against his nephew chief, captor, host, and betrayer—Ngqika. He allied himself with the Gcalekas under Hintsá, who according to Xosa customs took the priority to Ngqika and justly resented the action of the British Government in recognising Ngqika as supreme chief over all the Xosas. Without attacking the Ngqikas Ndlambe provoked them, by capturing large droves of their cattle, to attack him. By a strategic retreat he decoyed the advancing enemy into an ambushade at a place known as Debe Nek. Here, suddenly, the full force of the *Ama-Ndlambe* and *Ama-Gcaleka* was let loose on the unsuspecting *Ama-Ngqika*. This is said to have been one of the most sanguine battles ever fought between the Xosa tribes. The *Ama-Ngqika* were mown down in hundreds, and the remainder took to their heels and were obliged to live for days on the mountains. In despair Ngqika sent to Lord Charles Somerset for help, for help had been promised him before as an ally of the British Government. Accordingly, a large army of soldiers and burghers was soon collected. Thus reinforced, the Ngqikas attacked and partially defeated

Ndlambe in 1818. The barbarity displayed by the Ama-Ngqika over their enemies was such that, in disgust, the British forces had to withdraw before sufficiently punishing Ndlambe. Nevertheless the deposed chief, Ngqika, was reinstated. After this, the struggle with Ndlambe was carried on by the British Government, and will be considered under the chapter on Euro-Xosa Wars.

AMA-NDLAMBE SECTION OF AMA-RARABE

We have already noticed that this tribe was formed by Ndlambe as a result of his unscrupulous behaviour in his refusing to give over the throne of the Ama-Rarabe to his nephew Ngqika, the rightful heir, for whom he was chosen regent. It has been pointed out how this led to civil war resulting in the defeat and capture of Ndlambe, how after a time he obtained his liberty, and organised with the help of Hintsu—supreme ruler of the Ama-Gcaleka—a successful campaign against his former captor. This defeat Ngqika partially avenged by getting help from the British Cape Government, and the united forces attacked Ndlambe, who was considered a rebel and outlaw. The British forces were no sooner disbanded than Ndlambe at the head of some 20,000 Xosas or so invaded the English colonial territories, sacked many farms and carried off hundreds of cattle, especially from the district of Albany. This happened in 1818. There had appeared among Ndlambe's adherents a man of the name of Makana, described as a witch doctor. This Makana, it seems, was only an ordinary plebeian, but there was something about his mien that commanded attention, and he soon became the trusted adviser of Ndlambe. Makana soon became commander-in-chief of Ndlambe's forces, and this, associated with his professed converse with the spirits, made his influence even greater than his chief's. In fact, he might now be said to be the real ruler of the Ama-Ndlambe. Nothing was done without Makana's knowledge and positive consent. Makana surprised and awed his simpler countrymen—for there cannot be the slightest doubt that he was a man of understanding and genius. He had gleaned some smattering of theology from ministers of religion, and by acute observation and intelligent inquiry from his European friends, he understood a little of mechanical arts and contrivances. The knowledge thus gained in religion and arts he united with superstition to

mystify his fellows. He became abstracted, walked in a different world, and was of his compatriots a thing apart. He talked to them as one having authority. His utterances, always of a mystic nature, were eagerly listened to—for was he not a mouth-piece of the gods! His commands were immediately executed, and his prophecies received with unquestioning credence. We shall see, in a future chapter, how Makana used this influence in 1819 in leading a massed attack on Grahamstown—then the British military headquarters of the Eastern Province. Makana had more than one aim in this venture, viz. his victory would be the destruction of the largest of the British military posts of the border. It would be also a speedy and adequate revenge for the defeat sustained by the Ama-Ndlambe at the hands of the British and Ngqika's forces in the previous year. The two circumstances would combine to make Makana deserve the gratitude and love of his countrymen, among whom he was already very popular, and who might then make him their chief. Suffice it to say, in the meantime, that that attack was defeated with very heavy losses among the followers of Makana. He gave himself up the day after the battle, and was conveyed to the convict station at Robben Island, about six miles off Cape Town. There his magnetic influence again made him obeyed among the convicts. How did he use it this time? He and his fellow-convicts overpowered the guard, scrambled on to a boat and rowed for the mainland. Makana's star of good fortune had, however, set. The boat capsized in mid-ocean and Makana—the man of visions and dreams—went to a watery grave.

At the end of 1819 peace was finally settled between the two hostile Xosa camps—the Ama-Ndlambe and Ama-Gealeka ononeside, and the Ama-Ngqika on the other with their European allies of the Cape Province. We shall see how far the parties adhered to their treaty obligations in a future chapter.

AMA-FENGU

Ama-Fengu (or Fingoes).—The people who bear this name are, comparatively speaking, a new tribe whose existence is another of the instances which are a curious commentary on the earlier history of the Bantu race of Southern Africa. The reader has already noticed how the Basuto nation, as such, owes its existence to the turbulent times existing in the sub-continent

in the earlier part of the nineteenth century—when the Zulus and their Matabele kinsmen made South Africa a perfect babel of confusion and a blood-soaked arena, threw the country into convulsions of horror and writhings of agony. Many tribes were exterminated outright, and not only did their place know them no more, but their very names were forgotten. Other tribes were driven off to lands far distant, fleeing onward and onward, till they could no longer hear the shrill cries of the Zulu war-dogs.

Such tribes are represented by the Bangoni of Central Africa, who escaped northward under Zwangendaba. A few other tribes amalgamated together to form larger combinations and, in one case, to form a powerful nation. The Basuto nation of Moshesh represent the nation, the Ama-Fengu represent a large combination of tribes or, more properly, remnants of tribes, for they had each suffered severely. Some of these are the Ama-Zizi, Ama-Kuze, Ama-Shwawa, Ama-Ngwane, Ama-Mbele, Ama-Sekunene, Ama-Hlubi, Ama-Dlamini, Ama-Tuwane, etc., all small tribes, which on account of their smallness and weakness fell an easy prey to the Zulu hordes, and fleeing hither and thither from death and destruction, were united by a common lot, took refuge in the high mountain ranges, starved together, resorted to cannibalism, and then sought refuge among the Ama-Xosa nation, by whom they were called Ama-Fengu (or wanderers). As such, they were despised and enslaved, and under this heavy yoke the Fingoes remained until they were rescued by the British Government in 1835 through the agency of Sir Benjamin Durban, the Governor of the Cape.

In 1834 the Fingoes had joined the British forces in their war—known in South African history as the Fifth Kafir War—against the Xosas of Hintsá called the Gcalekas. Towards the end of the campaign some 18,000 to 20,000 Fingoes, after suffering severely at the hands of the Xosas, entered the British territories of Cape Colony in mass. Sir Benjamin Durban, who had been in command when the Fingoes came to the assistance of the British forces, extended the British protection to his landless allies. He collected them and located them at Peddie, near King William's Town.

The new-obtained independence of the Fingoes was regarded with no great favour by the Xosas, especially at this time when they—the Xosas—were in actively hostile relations with the British. They resented what they regarded as an alliance

of their slaves with their enemies. It is no wonder, then, that the Xosas regarded the Fingoes with feelings of scorn and contempt, while the Fingoes, in their turn, regarded their erstwhile suzerains with feelings of defiance, as they could now rely on the British protection recently proffered them.

In 1846 the Fingoes again fought side by side with the British forces in what is known as the War of the Axe—against the Ama-Xosa. In this war the Fingoes are said to have shown an implacable attitude towards their “hereditary enemies” the Xosas.

Again, in the Anglo-Xosa War of 1850–53, or the “Seventh Kafir War,” the Fingoes stood firmly by their British allies. In the Ninth Kafir War, 1877–78, the Xosas made a vigorous attack on the Fingoes.

Since they were delivered from bondage by the British Government, the Fingoes have remained staunch friends—loyal and faithful allies—of their deliverers. In the most troubled times of earlier Cape Colony—even when it seemed that the powerful and prolific Xosa people would sweep all the European colonists into the sea—the Fingoes evinced unquestioned loyalty, forming a remarkable contrast to the Hottentots, who were only allies of the strong, for the time being—now fighting with the Xosas against the Dutch and British, and now going right over to the other side to form an alliance with the Europeans against the Xosas according as the star of the blacks or of the whites was in the ascendancy. The Hottentots were time-servers: the Fingoes, faithful allies.

Between the Xosas and the Fingoes the relations were very much strained, and through the opportunities for physical force afforded by the Anglo-Xosa wars, it is to be feared that the mutual ill-feeling became deeper-seated so that it survived the wars by a long way. For it is a fact that to this day there exists between many unsophisticated Xosas and Fingoes an inexplicable coolness, a kind of racialism, which expresses itself in a ready annoyance of the members of the one nation at those of the other. It is something like this—Xosa is conscious—rightly or wrongly—of a superiority of birth, and would like that fact ever before Fingo, who affects not to know, but really knows, Xosa’s mind. Fingo is more civilised on the whole than Xosa, and silently shows that he thinks intellectual superiority the only title to supremacy.

For the Fingoes, these sometime weak and homeless wanderers,

these outcasts, despised and rejected though they were, have, as it generally happens in such cases, turned their necessity into glorious gain. They have let no chance pass by which they could improve themselves. They have more than redeemed their low birth—if indeed such a thing exists—by their intellectual acquisitions and social advancement, which place them in the first rank of the present day Bantu. From amongst the Fingoes has come the pioneer Bantu pressman, they have produced the first Bantu professor of high English qualifications—for a Bantu college. The Fingoes show a roll of educated men—professional and technical—which is the largest among any single Bantu nation, if not absolutely, at least proportionately to their numbers. They have the only Bantu Governing Council worthy the name. Their roll of ministers of religion, teachers of schools, and civil servants, is the largest in the country. Among the Fingo nation are found more men of European and American education than among all the other Bantu nationalities put together.

As the Fingoes were a medley of tribes, there could not be any single hereditary chief of the new nation, in the absence of such a rare combination of fortuitous circumstances as produced one supreme ruler amongst the Basuto; and the creation of a chief would be rendered doubly difficult by the condition of vassalage under which they lived among the Xosas. As, however, a leader is among all forms of society, and especially a Bantu society, a great necessity, one Bikitsha was elected as the head of the Fingoes, being recognised as such by the British Government. The chief paid a visit to England in later years, and received the thanks of Her Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, for the loyalty of the Fingoes to the British Crown.

2. AMA-ZULU OR ZULUS

The tribe which calls itself by this name is, perhaps, the best known of South African tribes when we omit "Kaffirs," a word of undefined, indefinite, and ambiguous meaning, and also of no ethnographical value. The Zulus have so named themselves after their ancient king Zulu (and not from izulu=heaven), who lived at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Under this chief the tribe seems to have settled about the White Umfolosi basin. Their exact date of

immigration into South Africa is far from certain, but it must have been closely after that of the Ama-Xosa, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The Zulus were then an obscure and unimportant people, whose numbers were a few thousands at the most, and thus they continued until Tshaka brought them into the limelight at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, there were dwelling near them on the north-east of the Tugela a tribe, the Aba-Tetwa, a much more powerful people, against whom the Ama-Zulu could have stood no chance in battle. The heir to the throne of Aba-Tetwa was one Dingiswayo. This individual is said to have been at Cape Town shortly before his father's death. While there he saw, and—being an intelligent man—greatly admired, the military regimental drills. The simultaneous movements and actions at a single word of command left a lasting impression on him, and convinced him that such a practice must carry much weight in battle. When he succeeded his father, he imitated as far as possible what he had seen, by instructing his men. He instituted the regimental or impi system, and drills. His calculations proved correct. The Aba-Tetwa became a terror for miles around. In the regiments was one Tshaka, a son, but not heir, of the Zulu chief, Senzagwakona. Tshaka distinguished himself as a soldier, and became a captain, very popular with the chief and the army.

Upon his father's death in 1810, Tshaka, by the moral and military help of Dingiswayo, became the supreme ruler of the Ama-Zulu. He now acted in concert with his friend and patron, Dingiswayo, and assisted him in crushing the neighbouring Amangwane tribe in 1812. Soon after, Dingiswayo was killed by Zwite, chief of the Undwandwe tribe, with whom he had been at constant war. His brother and successor, Mundiso, attempted to avenge Dingiswayo's murder, but was defeated by Zwite and had to take refuge among the Zulus. There he was murdered soon after, as it appears, at the instigation of Tshaka, who next took advantage of the internal disputes existing among the Aba-Tetwa, attacked them, and put their prospective chief, Sombeya, the son of Dingiswayo, to flight, and, subjugating the Aba-Tetwa, he (Tshaka) became their chief. Thus the thrones of Ama-Zulu and Aba-Tetwa were united under Tshaka.

He now began a series of raids. First he avenged Dingiswayo's death by routing the Undwandwe tribe who had killed him.

He incorporated the remnants into the Zulus, and thus greatly increased the numbers of his people. He continued and improved Dingiswayo's impi, or regimental system, introduced a large shield and a short stabbing spear, and instituted military "kraals" or camps, in which the regiments were isolated and arranged by age—that is, men of 35–40 years in one regiment, those of 40–45 years in another, and so on. Tshaka then began to raid tribes to the north of the Zulus, drove the Bangoni, under Zwangendaba, and the Ama-Gaza, under Manikusa, further north. He next turned south, and carried fire and sword into the adjacent tribes, whom he scattered, exterminated, or incorporated into the Zulus. By 1820 he had depopulated large districts, and made the whole of South Africa ring with his name. It was at this time that Moselekatse (properly Umseli-gazi), hitherto a trusted general of Tshaka, revolted and crossed the Drakensberg into the modern Transvaal with many of Tshaka's impis—about 15,000 strong. In 1828 Tshaka, having met some Englishmen who created a favourable impression on him, desired to enter into friendly alliance with the English king, and accordingly deputed one of his indunas, Setobi, to proceed to England on that mission, and to inquire if it would be consonant with the desire of the English Government that he destroy all the Bantu tribes in South Africa. Setobi did not proceed further than Port Elizabeth.

By the time he returned to his royal master, the latter had already re-begun his war of extermination, for Pondoland was attacked and laid waste. In 1828 Tshaka paid the price of despotism. He was murdered by his brothers Dingana (or Dingaan) and Umhlangana, after which Dingana dispatched his ally, Umhlangana, and succeeded to the Zulu throne. Tshaka's last words are said to have been: "You think to rule the land after me, but I see the white man coming to take it from you." Tshaka is allowed to have been a military genius and monster of cruelty, but the new ruler, Dingana, completely put him in the shade in the latter respect.

The voortrekkers reached Natal in 1837, under Pieter Retief, and went to Dingana to ask permission to settle down west of the Tugela—outside Zulu territory. The chief agreed. He was affable, and protested friendship to the strangers, in proof of which he invited them to take beer and see a Zulu war dance. They took beer, saw the Zulu war dance, and then were killed. Their fellow-immigrants were attacked and many killed. The

Boers rallied, and the following year, 1838, severely punished Dingana for his treachery. Their victory is still celebrated every 16th December by the Boers, being known as Dingaan's Day. Dingana himself had to live in the bush for a time, and then finally took refuge in Swaziland, where the treatment he had meted out to his brothers, Tshaka and Umhlangana, was now meted out to him—he was murdered (1840). His brother, Umpande, succeeded him as supreme ruler of the Zulus. Though barbarous and cruel in an absolute sense, he was, especially coming as he did after Dingana, comparatively gentle and peaceful. Once he crossed swords, or rather assegais, with the Swazis, but did not create much impression. Early in his reign many of his subjects escaped his misrule into the English territory of Natal, founded 1843. Later, his two sons, Cetchwayo—generally spelt Cetywayo—and Umbulazi, divided the tribe with their fight for succession. Umbulazi was defeated and slain, and Cetywayo was accordingly nominated successor. Even before his father's death in 1872 he was the real ruler of Ama-Zulu. Cetywayo was formally proclaimed chief of the Zulus in 1873. He was an example of what, in the science of biology, is known as "reversion." He was not an improvement on Umpande's good parts, but a repetition of Tshaka's evil qualities. He was a cruel despot. He revived the slumbering war tendencies of the Zulus, massacred the wives of his soldiers because they had not married in accordance with his wishes. Next he was at loggerheads with the Transvaal Boers about the matter of land—the bone of contention being the district of Utrecht, ceded to the Boers by Umpande in 1854. When the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government in 1877, that Government took over also the share of the Boers in the disputes. Thus it was, among other considerations, that in 1879 the British sent an ultimatum to Cetywayo, demanding, among other things, the disbanding of military kraals and system, or, in short, militarism. As no reply was forthcoming within the specified time, British forces, under Lord Chelmsford, invaded Zululand. One column of this, while encamped at *Isandhlwana*, was surprised and overpowered by 10,000 Zulus, who captured all the transport and munitions. They were, however, defeated at Rorke's Drift. They surprised and defeated another column on Intombe River, and invested Eshowe. The *Isandhlwana* British disaster created much consternation in Great Britain, and 10,000 men were almost immediately

sent out to South Africa. The Zulus were now beaten outright, and heavy losses inflicted upon them at almost every engagement, and, after the battle of Ulundi, the Zulu power was crushed, and Cetywayo himself was soon after captured, and sent to Cape Town to be kept under guard. Zululand was now put under the rule of minor chiefs, but this arrangement proved a failure, and productive of many bloody feuds, perpetuating, as it did, the differences among the Zulus.

In 1882 Cetywayo was reinstated. The following year he was attacked by a rival chief, Usibepu, who had obtained Boer assistance. In the battle that followed, Cetywayo was defeated and wounded, and his "great place" at Ulundi burnt. He died the following year, and was succeeded by his son, Dinizulu. The new chief's first public act was to avenge his father's defeat by attacking Usibepu, and to make surer of victory, he obtained the assistance of the accommodating Transvaal Boers, under Lukas Meyer, promising them land for their services. Usibepu was defeated by the Zulu-Boer combination. Dinizulu was pleased, and the Boers got the land. A little later, however, the Boers cried for more land, and, after a short respite, still more land, until the British Government found it necessary to step in to see "justice to the savage" done. Zululand continued in such a disturbed condition that, in 1887, it was thought that annexation of the country would be the only way of assuring peace. This was accordingly done. The matter appeared quite differently to the Zulu monarch, and the following year there was more trouble in Zululand. Dinizulu was attacked and defeated by a British force, and he took refuge in the Transvaal first, but later surrendered. He was accused and found guilty of high treason, and exiled to St. Helena. Zululand now enjoyed comparative quiet. In 1898 Dinizulu was brought back to Zululand and again made chief, but with considerable curtailment of his powers. He was soon involved in quarrels and fights with the Boers again, but these passed, and there was another lull until 1906, when there was a rising of the Zulus of Natal under Bambaata. They were attacked and defeated in Zululand, where they had taken refuge, and Bambaata himself killed, with about three and a half thousand Zulus. About as many were taken prisoners, among these being Sigananda, the accomplice and abettor of Bambaata.

Much commotion and excitement, however, continued

throughout the length and breadth of the country, and in 1907 Dinizulu was accused by the Natal Government of high treason and harbouring rebels. He was tried in 1909 and found guilty of the last charge only, deprived of his position as head of the Zulus, and imprisoned at Cape Town until 1910, when he was released and settled in a farm in the Transvaal, where he died soon after.

Dinizulu left a son, Solomon, who was recognised in November 1916, by General Botha, the Premier of the Union of South Africa, as chief of the Zulus. This action is said to have caused much satisfaction among the Zulus and other native people, who had not forgotten the indignities which Dinizulu was subjected to. The young chief, Solomon ka Dinizulu, is responsible to the Government for the order and behaviour of his people, and is allowed a pension of some £300 a year.

Such, in short, is the eventful story of the Zulu people, who themselves are, like they of the Bronze Age, a "*Sævior ingeniis et ad horrida promptior arma.*" It differs essentially from that of the other tribes considered, in its entire pre-occupation with external forces. Here we have hardly any clash of Zulu clan against Zulu clan, as we have seen Xosas under Ndlambe fighting sanguine battles against Xosas under Ngqika, the two leaders being in the relationship of uncle and nephew. Nor have we here a parallel of the Ba-Ngwaketse, under Makaba, attacking Bakwena, both Bechuana tribes, and both descendants of Masilo. The reasons for this peculiarity are not far to seek. First, the Zulus were never at any time as numerous as either the Xosas or the Bechuana, and, secondly, Tshaka and Dingana had no sons to divide the tribe or nation with their quarrels for succession. Umpande, on the other hand, had two sons, Cetywayo and Umbulazi. We have already seen how they caused a temporary division of the tribe by fighting for succession until Umbulazi was defeated and killed. Then, again, the leader of a separatist movement among the Zulus was always in great danger of his life, as also his adherents. That accounts for Moselekatse fleeing far into the interior, and yet even thither Tshaka and, afterwards, Dingana tried to follow and punish him. As to the nature of the punishment, no doubt need be entertained that it would be death to every one about the rebel general, now an independent potentate, whose people we may next consider.

AMA-NDEBELE, MATABELE, OR ABAKWA-ZULU

The reader, if he has read the history of the Bechuana tribes given in the earlier pages, will have already gained tolerable acquaintance with the Matabele. Very little more remains to be said, for the career of the Matabele is like that of the Zulus from whom they came—"rapine and bloodshed." Their existence as an independent tribe began later, and their power had a much shorter day than that of the Zulus.

After Tshaka had so phenomenally risen to power, there was in his regiments one Umseligazi (drinker of blood), who attracted his attention by reason of his daring and bravery. Umseligazi, or, as the name is now popularly spelt, Mzilikasi, or Moselekatse, was soon gazetted "captain," and became a great favourite of the great Tshaka. About 1824 the captain slightly overstepped his powers, and therefore contravened Tshaka's iron rules. He failed to deliver *all* the spoil to his royal master, and thereby incurred his displeasure. That, Moselekatse well knew, spelt "death"—certain death to him, his regiments, and everything that was his. The only safety was in flight. Accordingly, with a large following of about 15,000, he placed the high range of the Drakensberg Mountains between himself and the enraged Tshaka, and entered what is now the Transvaal. Thus far Moselekatse and his followers knew the value of life, and how to preserve it. But there the respect to life ends with their salvation. Rapine and carnage must hence be their rule. They now carried fire and sword into the peaceful and prosperous Bechuana tribes inhabiting the Transvaal at the time. We have seen that most of these were ramifications of the prolific Bakwena tribe. With their blood-curdling cries of war and inhuman barbarity, the Matabele fell on these people. Man, woman, and child went down before their spears, houses were put on fire, and, before long, what had been smiling and populous towns were reduced to ashes. Tribe after tribe of the Bechuana suffered the same fate—Bakwena, Ba-Mangwato, Ba-Ngwaketse, Barolong. Such was the more than pestilential advance of Moselekatse when he broke from the sway of Tshaka. The Matabele then planted themselves in the valley of the Marikwa, their military headquarters being at Mosega, and from here, for years, between 1824 and 1837, they launched one sanguine attack after another on the surrounding tribes. In 1837, however, a new danger had appeared on the horizon of the Matabele.

The emigrant Boers, or voortrekkers, had that year reached the present Orange Free State. In their onward march they had "outspanned" some miles from Thaba Ncho, when they were suddenly attacked by the Matabele. The Boers rapidly made a "laager" with their waggons, and bravely defended themselves, their wives, and their children, and, with that accurate aim for which they are famous, let loose a telling grape-shot on the enemy, who, despairing of the intended wholesale murder of the white strangers, and seeing man after man of the valiant Aba kwa-Zulu (as the Matabele prided in calling themselves) fall, were obliged to stop and retire, not, however, without considerable spoil in the form of all the Boer cattle, draught oxen, and cows. It was under such circumstances that the emigrant Boers, left only with their waggons in the uninviting South African veld, with no means for progress and for subsistence, appealed to, and were liberally relieved by Moroka, the supreme ruler of the section of Barolong at Thaba Ncho, which was not far distant from the scene lately enacted at the Boer laager. The Boers, under Gerrit Maritz, and with a strong help from the Thaba Ncho people and a Griqua regiment, were able to take the offensive against Moselekatse in a few weeks, and, in a battle that followed, they punished the Matabele warriors so thoroughly that they had to fly from the Boers. They abandoned their military kraal at Mosega, which we have seen was in the present North-West Transvaal, and near the Bechuanaland border. Thence they removed northwards, more accurately N.N.W., by some 400 miles to immediately south of the Zambesi, to what is now Matabeleland. This step had a most salutary effect, for a time at least, among the surrounding Bechuana peoples, but it was the unluckiest accident for their brethren further north.

In other words, the Matabele having been baulked of their old shambles of Southern Bechuanaland, now went to carry on slaughter among tribes farther north. These new victims of Moselekatse were the Ba-Mangwato section of the Bechuana, the Makalaka subjects of the famous Monomatapa dynasty of Portuguese literature on East Africa, and the Mashona, the former inhabitants of what now became Matabeleland. All these people were more or less "eaten up," to use the technical expression of the Matabele, and the survivors were enslaved.

Moselekatse's new military headquarters were planted at a place which he gave the significant name of "Buluwayo" which

means "a place of slaughter" or, in short, "the shambles," only the victims were much more human beings than their butchers.

Some of these people, however, valiantly and successfully defended themselves against Matabele, thus the Bangwato, under Khama, inflicted heavy losses on them on more than one occasion.

Moslekatse died in 1870 and was succeeded by his son, Lobengula, who perpetuated his father's bloody policy as far as possible.

The Matabele did not, any more than the other South African Bantu tribes, escape from the land-grabbing propensities of the Boers. The same methods and tactics which were used for obtaining land from other tribes were used for getting it from the Matabele. These methods were, of course, force, and then a profession of friendship. In conformity with Boer ideas of fair play, therefore, Hendrik Potgieter made an unsuccessful advance on the Matabele about 1855 first.

The discovery of gold in Matabeleland in 1871 did not lessen the Boer desire to possess that country. The Matabele were by no means an effeminate people like the Bechuana, and it required a second thought before trying force on them. Cunning and diplomacy, however, have conquered quite as often as arms—and with much less expenditure of energy—why not try these invisible weapons on the Matabele? and so in 1882 we find a letter—which makes very fine reading—penned by the Boer commandant to "Lo Bengula." This was a year after the Boers had undertaken, by the Pretoria Convention, not to encroach on native territories.

The letter is as follows :—

" Marico,
" The South African Republic,
" March 9, 1882.

" To the Great Ruler the Chief Lo Bengula, the son
of Umzilikatse, the Great King of the Matabili Nation.

" Great Ruler,—When this letter reaches you, then you will know it comes from a man who very much desires to visit you, but who, being a man of the people, cannot get loose to make such a long journey. Therefore he must now be satisfied with writing a letter to carry his regards to the son of the late King of the Matabele, our old friend Umzilikatse. When I say that

I desire to see you, it is not to ask for anything, but to talk of something, and to tell Lo Bengula of the affairs and things of the world, because I know that there are many people who talk and tell about these matters, whilst there are but few who tell the truth. Now, when a man hears a thing wrong, it is worse than if he had never heard it at all.

“Now I know that Lo Bengula has heard some things wrongly, and for this reason would I tell him the real truth. Now you must have heard that the English—or, as they are better known, the Englishmen—took away our country, the Transvaal, or, as they say, annexed it. We then talked nicely for four years, and begged for our country. But no, when an Englishman once has your property in his hand, then he is like a monkey that has its hands full of pumpkin-seeds—if you don't beat him to death he will never let go—and then all our nice talk for four years did not help us at all. Then the English commenced to arrest us because we were dissatisfied, and that caused the shooting and fighting. Then the English first found that it would be better to give us back our country. Now they are gone, and our country is free, and we will now once more live in friendship with Lo Bengula, as we lived in friendship with Umzilikatse, and such must be our friendship, that so long as there is one Boer and one Matabele living, these two must remain friends. On this account do I wish to see Lo Bengula, and if I may live so long, and the country here become altogether settled, and the stink which the English brought is first blown away altogether, then I will ride so far to reach Lo Bengula, and if he still has this letter, then he will hear the words from the mouth of the man who now must speak with the pen upon paper, and who, therefore, cannot so easily tell him everything. The man is a brother's child of the three brothers that formerly—now thirty-two years ago—were at Umzilikatse's, and then made the peace with him which holds to this day. He still remembers well when the first Boers—Franz Joubert, Jann Joubert, and Pieter Joubert—came there, and when they made the peace whereby Umzilikatse could live at peace and the Boers also, and the peace which is so strong that the vile evil-doers were never able to destroy it, and never shall be able to destroy it as long as there shall be one Boer that lives and Lo Bengula also lives.

“Now, I wish to send something to give Lo Bengula a present as a token of our friendship. I send for Lo Bengula with the

gentleman who will give him this letter a blanket and a handkerchief for his great wife, who is the mother of all the Matabele nation. I will one day come to see their friendship. The gentleman who brings the letter will tell you about all the work which I have to do here. Some bad people have incited Kolahing and so he thought he would make fortifications and fight with us, but he got frightened and saw that he would be killed, therefore I made him break down the fortifications and pack all the stones in one heap, and he had then to pay 5000 cattle and 4000 sheep and goats for his wickedness. Now there is another chief, Gatsizibe—he came upon our land and killed three people and plundered them—he must also pay a fine, or else we will punish him or shoot him because we will have peace in our country. Now greetings, great Chief Lo Bengula, from the Commandant-General of the South African Republic for the Government and Administration.

“ P. J. JOUBERT.”

In the succeeding years there was a scramble for Matabeleland by the Boers and the British, and by the instrumentality of Cecil Rhodes the British South Africa Company occupied the country in 1890. Three years later they were engaged in war with the Matabele, who were defeated, their military headquarters at Buluwayo captured and their chief Lo Bengula killed.

With the death of Lobengula in 1893 the history of the Matabele as an independent nation ended, and except remarking their insurrection in 1896 there is little more to say about them. They are now even less heard of than the tribes they tried to exterminate. There is, indeed, a “ Matabeleland ” on the map, but that is no more than a geographical expression, an obsolete name for the country which was once the Mashonas, was wrenched from them by the Matabele and again wrenched from the Matabele by the Chartered Company.

3. AMA-SWAZI OR SWAZIS

Ama-Swazi (or Swazis) are a small tribe occupying the country north-west of the Zulu country. Their date of immigration here must correspond pretty closely with that of the other surrounding tribes, e.g. Abatetwa and Ama-Zulu to whom they are closely allied. They therefore must have occupied

their present land about the beginning of the seventeenth century. In common with the other south-east coast tribes, the Ama-Swazi are believed to come from the north-western direction as distinguished from the tribes of the interior, who came from a direct northerly direction—to wit from the inter-lacustrine regions. At their time of arrival, or shortly after it, in South Africa, the Ama-Swazi were called, or called themselves, Barapuza after their ancient and famous Chief Rapuza under whom they attained homogeneity. Of their doings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not much is preserved, perhaps because not much happened, for the Ama-Swazi, always a small tribe, have been terrorised by their more powerful neighbours, notably the Abatetwa and then the Ama-Zulu in the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries respectively. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the Swazis, or rather Aba-Rapuza as they called themselves up to this time—had for their ruler a chief by the name of Swazi. At this time, Zulus were under the bad rule of Umpande. Their power had been broken in 1838 by the Boers under Pretorius in punishment for Dingana's treachery. Their moral was at its lowest ebb. Chief Swazi noticed this and took the proverbial "tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." He revolted against Zulu suzerainty and asserted the independence of his people. The Zulu monarch Umpande tried to punish the Swazis for their impertinence in daring dream of independence. The people of Swazi defended themselves valiantly and successfully against the Zulu savage attacks, and aided by the rockiness of their country, they were able to defy the enemy, throw off his dull yoke, and establish their independence. The Barapuza now, in honour to their brave and wise Chief Swazi, called themselves Ama-Swazi after him.

A few years after their arrival in Natal the immigrant Boers began to occupy land adjacent to the Swazis' country, and to apply for grazing and other concessions. The Swazis ceded them land north of the Pongola and placed them so as to be a barrier between them (the Swazis) and the hostile Zulus. This land became known as Pieter Retief's district. At a later date the Zulu monarch Cetywayo contended that the Swazis were his vassals and had, as such, no legal right to give away any land, and that any transactions between the Boers and the Swazis were null and void. Accordingly, he refused Boer settlement in Pieter Retief's district for about ten years. Amicable

relations seem to have existed between the Transvaal Boers and Swazis, and the two were, in sentiment at any rate, united against Zulus. When in 1877 Transvaal came under British control, friendly relations continued between Transvaal and Swaziland, and two years later the two co-operated in quelling a Bapeli rising under Sekukuni. The Swazis the readier came in to give a hand, as they considered Sekukuni a dangerous creature of their great enemy the Zulu. Upon the retrocession of Transvaal in 1881, the Boers undertook by the Pretoria Convention to recognise and respect the independence of Swaziland. These promises they repeated as signatories of the London Convention of 1884. How little importance the Boers attached to these, however, will be seen when it is stated that they continued their old illegal tactics for acquiring land, and by 1886, Chief Umbandine of the Swazis was already asking the Natal Government for British protection, explaining that the Boers wished to make him their vassal and be themselves the rulers of his country. The chief's appeal went by unheeded, and the following year his country was overrun by prospectors of all nationalities—gold prospectors, land prospectors, human prospectors, and other prospectors—the winding up being that Swaziland became to all intents and purposes a Boer Free State. Under those circumstances, the Swazis once more appealed for British protection with no better results, and finally, in 1889, Transvaal began measures to annex Swaziland and the step was recognised by the British Government by 1893. This annexation was most distasteful to the Swazis, who fought the measure constitutionally, sent a deputation to the Queen, asking her to rescind it and supersede it by British rule—all, however, to no effect—Swaziland remained under the Boer rule.

On the death of Umbandine in 1889 there were many rivals to the chieftainship of Swaziland. The Boers, with their general readiness for participating in native affairs—a step whereby they generally profited in land—pressed the claim of Ubanu and put him on the Swazi throne after some struggle.

The new chief does not seem to have been either very wise or very gentle. He was, in fact, an inexorable despot, and was soon obliged to fly the country. The affairs of Swaziland were, after King Umbandine's death, and again after the flight of his successor Ubanu, managed by the late king's wife—Queen-Regent Naba Tsibeni, a woman of rare talent, good sense, and wonderful ability. She continued Umbandine's policy,

protested against the country being handed over to the Boers, and pointed out how the new masters trampled (for Swaziland came under Transvaal) their obligations of London Convention under foot, and, later, she made an alliance with the British Government at the outbreak of the South African War. In 1902 internal disturbances took place in Swaziland and a virtual state of anarchy existed, and a few years later Sobhuza, grandson of Naba Tsibeni, was elected supreme ruler, but being still in his minority Naba Tsibeni, his grandmother, continued as Queen-Regent, and after her the regency was filled by Prince Malunga.

When the Union of South Africa was declared in 1909, Swaziland was one of the native states which was left under the direct control of the Imperial Government.

REVIEW OF THE SECOND ETHNICAL GROUP: ZULU-XOSA NATIONS

Having now finished considering the members of the east-coast group of tribes individually, we may now review them as a whole, compare and contrast them with the interior group of tribes.

First, as to the period of immigration, it has already been noticed that the south-east-coast tribes or Zulu-Xosa people were more recent than the interior tribes or Bechuana people, that while these arrived at their present settlements about the seventeenth century, the Zulu-Xosa nations reached theirs in the eighteenth century. The interior tribes further came from a northerly direction, while the south-east tribes came from the north-western direction. As to language, there is far greater affinity between languages of the east-coast tribes than there is between any of them and a language of interior tribes. Thus, for instance, Zulus and Xosas quite readily understand each other, and they, in fact, talk one and the same language, with a difference here and there, very slight and practically negligible. On the other hand, a Xosa or a Zulu could never understand Mochuana, and *vice versa*, without having made a study of the language first.

In their customs, also, the east-coast tribes show affinities which are in close keeping with those of language. As mentioned before, they also recognise a closer kinship between themselves, than between any of them and a member of the interior group—

thus Zulu and Xosa will sooner fraternise, than Zulu or Xosa on the one hand, and Mochuana or Mosuto on the other. Physically, the east-coast people are, generally speaking, bigger in stature, more muscular and better formed than the Bechuana; they are also darker in colour (a thing of beauty and a joy for ever among the Bantu) than their brethren of the interior.

From what has been said of Tshaka, Chief of the Zulus, and Moselekatse, Chief of the Matabele, and much earlier, though in a less degree, of Xosa chiefs, the reader may be in position to gauge fairly accurately the form of government which would obtain among the south-east-coast tribes, as distinguished from those of the interior. That democratic element, which formed a characteristic feature, and is a sign of advance, in the Bechuana Basuto tribes of the interior, was entirely wanting among the Zulus, and but feebly marked among the Xosas. The chiefs among these east-coast people were invested with far greater powers—among the Zulu nation—these being so great that the chief was a despot and military autocrat, whose word was law. He held powers of life and death. The government was feudal. Marriage was by the chief's decree or consent only, and often he chose brides for his soldiers—thus a regiment which married contrary to Dingana's pleasure had their wives massacred. Mr. Theal says of Zulus: "The government is about the most despotic that can be conceived. Until very recently, cases of violent death were of frequent occurrence, and, generally speaking, when a man was put to death one or more of his wives suffered with him."

It may be mentioned that when Tshaka's mother died the sanguine despot ordered a general massacre, by which some 10,000 people were killed, and, as Zulus express it, the "rivers ran blood."

In character, the Zulu-Xosa nations are decidedly more aggressive and warlike. It has been seen how great were the devastations of Zulus under Tshaka and his successors, or of the Matabele under Moselekatse, depopulating large areas of land; how savage and sanguine were the wars the Xosas waged against each other, then against the Europeans—first the Dutch, and then the British settlers in South Africa. As a result, we have seen how that these tribes of the east coast made greater advances in the military arts than their brothers of the interior. The *quondam* military

proWess of the Zulus is a matter of common knowledge, and even those who know least about South African history have heard of Tshaka, the King of the Zulus, who drilled his impis to what, among so rude a people, must be considered a marvellous degree of perfection. He instilled his love of military glory into the young men as Napoleon did with his French Guards; he goaded them into deeds of blood-curdling cruelty, so that in a few years he had raised himself to the peerless but unenviable height of barbaric notoriety. A soldier who had not "washed his spear" in the enemy's blood stood no chance of recognition or promotion. A regiment that was repulsed met, and expected, no sympathy from this austere Nero; nay, it might be exterminated by his order. Like the Spartans of old, the Zulu regiments must return victorious or not at all. Thus carrying fire and sword into the surrounding countries, putting to flight and confusion the neighbouring tribes, butchering friend and foe alike as it pleased his whim, by systematic cruelty and wholesale massacres, Tshaka had in a quarter of a century reduced his own people—the Zulus—from 100,000 to 10,000, destroyed altogether some million souls or so, rendered barren and desolate, districts formerly fertile and populous, and had inscribed for himself in blood a name in history. His successor, Dingana, was said to be even more bloody, if possible—"A beast on two legs." It has been noticed how the Matabele offshoots of the Zulus rudely burst upon prosperous and peaceful tribes of the interior, pillaged them, enslaved them, and butchered them.

We shall describe at some length (Chap. VII.) how the Xosas, in a series of campaigns extending over one hundred years, held their own with primitive weapons, against the destructive creations of science and civilisation.

The quarrels of the Bechuana between themselves, or their scraps with the Boers, the squabbles of the Basuto with Boer and Briton, all these fade in lustre before the sanguine campaigns of the Zulus against non-Zulu peoples, and the titanic struggles of the Xosas with the Boer and Briton—a distinct proof that the Zulu-Xosa tribes are more martial.

Now love of war is primarily an outcome of ignorance, and the practice of war is itself in turn a direct barrier to progress, and consequently, among the east-coast tribes who so loved and practised war, we find an associated backwardness among a backward race, illustrating in a very striking manner that

beautiful intellectual law enunciated by Buckle in his *History of Civilisation in England* :—"As the intellectual acquisitions of a people increase, their love of war will diminish ; and if their intellectual acquisitions are very small, their love of war will be great. In perfectly barbarous countries there are no intellectual acquisitions ; and the mind being a blank and dreary waste, the only resource is external activity, the only merit personal courage. No account is made of any man, unless he has killed an enemy, and the more he has killed, the greater the reputation he enjoys. This is the purely savage state ; and it is the state in which military glory is most esteemed and military men most respected. From this frightful debasement, even up to the summit of civilisation, there is a long series of consecutive steps : gradations, at each of which something is taken from the dominion of force, and something given to the authority of thought."

Now in agriculture, skill in carving wood, working in iron, pottery, commercial enterprise, building, making of karosses and habiliments, in government and administration, statesmanship and political shrewdness, in poetical fancy and practice of oratory—in short, in all the peaceful arts—the Zulu-Xosa tribes of the coast were far behind their Bechuana neighbours of the interior, who practised all these to a laudable degree of perfection, and, as pointed out, are much more peaceful ; so much so that, when looked at through military spectacles, they must be pronounced timid and pusillanimous. Be that as it may, these latter—tribes of the interior—might be said to have climbed up the first of the "long series of consecutive steps" leading "up to the summit of civilisation." It must, however, not be imagined that the Zulu-Xosa coast tribes were quite devoid of all knowledge of these peaceful arts, any more than the Bechuana-Basuto tribes of the interior were without a vestige of military spirit. They too practised these peaceful arts, but to a much less extent, and as to political ability, it is well known that all Bantu have a natural and intuitive faculty, and while the coast tribes possessed this in a less degree, yet even in them it was sufficiently remarkable. Thus Dr. Mann says : "The old Zulus are shrewd, sagacious, and almost political. They have great ability, and even without education seem a much higher race intellectually than the lower class of the agricultural population in England."

CHAPTER VII

EURO-XOSA WARS

FORCE seems often to be the ultimate means of settling international differences and disputes. These disputes are reducible in the majority of cases to one cause, viz. looking at the same thing from different view-points—one nation from one, and the other nation from another aspect. What may appear small to the one, may at the same time seem magnified to the other, and *vice versa*. It is, in short, very often a question of international ethics and interests. The more dissimilar the ethics and the more opposed the interests, the more frequent also the differences, and hence the commoner the wars. Now, it has been said, rightly or wrongly, that no two races of mankind could be more different than the European and the Negro races. The differences, we are told, are not merely physical and external, but that they go further—to the moral outlook and to the soul. Be that as it may, it is at any rate certain that the ethical standards of the two races vary very much—much more than those of any two members of the European race, for instance. It is, therefore, not surprising that the contact of Europeans with the warlike South African Bantu should have resulted in perpetual friction and war.

Shortly after their arrival at the Cape in 1652 the Dutch realised that between them and the native Hottentots—then occupying the country round about the Cape—there was likely to be endless strife until one or the other of the parties was effectually crippled or entirely crushed. Their calculations were not wrong, for after exchanging ill services for some time—looting and cattle-lifting on one side by the Hottentots, who viewed with grave concern the unmistakable signs of permanent settlement of the foreigners, deeply resented their being considered trespassers on land upon which they formerly

roamed at will, and thought thus to incommode the newcomers and drive them away; on the other side severe punishments by the Dutch commandos, who saw in the Hottentots a pernicious, pilfering people, fit only for the arquebuse—after such mutual contempt, “diplomatic relations” were only too ready to break. By 1659, that is within seven years of the Dutch arrival, the two parties met in the battlefield—the so-called First Hottentot War. It was shortly after this that the Dutch, seeing a too real fulfilment of their gloomy prophecies, built themselves a fort still to be seen at Cape Town. In 1673 the Dutch and Hottentots were again killing each other in what is known as the Second Hottentot War. That practically finishes the official struggles of these two nations, although both before and after these “wars,” there were numerous commandos. But the Hottentots were a degenerate people, and smallpox and cheap brandy soon perfected the work the Dutch bullets had begun.

The Bushmen came next on the scene, and being even more pernicious than the Hottentots, and at the same time more implacable, though fewer in number, their day ended after a short series of Dutch commandos. The Bushmen, it appears, stole Dutch property on a grand scale. Horses, cattle, sheep, and other things were lifted by hundreds. In return for these favours, the Dutch officials and governing bodies issued orders for the complete extirpation of the Bushman nation. The chief instrument in carrying out this welcome mandate was one Adriaan van Jaarsveld. From nook and glen, mountain and valley, the Bushmen were hunted, and whole tribes shot down by hundreds. In vengeance the Bushmen redoubled their energies, stealing or killing anything of the Dutch they met. To return the compliment the Dutch visited the Bushmen with drastic measures for extermination. Between the two no mercy was expected or shown. Both were equally hardened, and both committed the cruellest deeds without the least compunction.

EURO-XOSA WARS

Lo! where he crouches by the cleugh's dark side,
 Eyeing the farmer's lowing herds afar,
 Impatient watching till the Evening Star
 Lead forth the Twilight dim, that he may glide
 Like panther to the prey. With freeborn pride

He scorns the herdsmen, nor regards the scar
 Of recent wound—but burnishes for war
 His assegai and targe of buffalo hide.
 He is a Robber ?—True ; it is a strife
 Between the black-skinned bandit and the white.
 A Savage ?—Yes ; though loth to aim at life,
 Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
 A Heathen ?—Teach him then thy better creed,
 Christian ! if thou deserv'st that name indeed.

PRINGLE.

The curtain rises again in 1779, and on the stage of the Afro-European drama is the first representative of the Bantu race, namely, the Xosa nation, who next took the field in the *First Xosa-Dutch War*, 1799–1782, against the Dutch settlers, and were destined to occupy it for a century.

Long before the outbreak of hostilities, the Xosas, who were migrating from the north along routes more or less parallel to the coast, and therefore in a south-westerly direction, had met isolated bands of Dutchmen who were expanding in the opposite direction. At this time the Gamtoos River had been declared the eastern limit of the Colony in 1770, and, five years later, the boundary was pushed out to Great Fish River. Detachments of Xosas began to cross the Fish River in 1778, and roam in what they regarded as their land and the Dutch also regarded as their own territory. Here then was a direct conflict of interests. This led Governor Van Plettenberg to visit some Xosa chiefs to persuade them to recognise Fish River as the dividing line between black and white. Van Plettenberg seems to have concluded the treaty, from want of better knowledge, with petty chiefs of petty clans, who had no authority. The following year, thousands of Xosas crossed the river, and spread in what is known as the Zuurveld, which the Dutch claimed as their country. Soon the Xosas ravaged the district, looted farms, killed Hottentots, and lifted cattle. The isolated Dutch farmer had to abandon all and go to more populous quarters. Attempts to induce the Xosas to retrace their steps across the river availed nothing, the Xosas claiming all the land as theirs. Force was the next and only means left, so the Dutch, with their Hottentot servants, took the field under Adriaan van Jaarsveld in a series of commandos, which had varying success, but punished the Xosas severely in one engagement at least, and achieved their objective in driving them across the Fish River, and may therefore be said to have defeated the Xosas.



MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA—ILLUSTRATING RACE-DISTRIBUTION AND EURO-BANTU WARS.

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 Of recent wound—but burnishes for war
 His assegai and targe of buffalo hide.
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before it, due to the boundary question, and a necessary sequel to the unfinished campaign immediately preceding. Once more, the Zuurveld was the arena, but, before actual hostilities commenced, the Dutch and English leaders, Major Cuytur, Colonel Collins, and Landrost Stockenstrom tried to reason with the Xosa chiefs—Hintsa, Ngqika, and Ndlambe—all, however, to no avail. The only definite answers they got in trying to coax the Xosas to retire was that by one of the chiefs: "The country is mine; I won it in war, and mean to retain it." Hostilities were precipitated by a treacherous act on the part of the Xosas, whereby Stockenstrom and thirteen men were suddenly murdered after a friendly parley and exchange of tobacco, in trying to arrive at a peaceable solution of the boundary problem. The Cape forces and burghers prosecuted the campaign with such determination and force, that, in a short time, they had exacted summary punishment for the murder of their colleagues, and driven "the enemy" across the Fish River boundary. Military posts were built along the river to guard against any further trespassing.

Before *the Fifth Euro-Xosa War*, 1818–1819, events had transpired which it is essential to notice in order to understand the causes of this fifth war. The Ama-Rarabe section of the Xosas had divided between their rival chiefs, Ngqika and Ndlambe, in 1796. The former of these, Ngqika, had entered into alliance with the British Government, under Lord Charles Somerset, who recognised him, to the great dismay of the Xosas, as the Supreme Chief or King of all the Xosas. When, in 1817, the followers of Ndlambe severely defeated the adherents of Ngqika, this chief naturally appealed to Lord Charles Somerset, who had undertaken to render him assistance in the event of any opposition to his (Ngqika's) British-given authority. The British Government, therefore, since it had unwisely bound itself to participate in Xosa inter-tribal wars, had no choice but to help its ally, Ngqika, against his uncle Ndlambe, and so began the Fifth Kafir War. A large army of soldiers, burghers, and Ama-Ngqika marched against Ndlambe, defeated him, outlawed him, and reinstated Ngqika as supreme chief. No sooner were the troops disbanded than the most powerful and influential adherent of the vanquished Ndlambe collected the scattered army, reinforced by additions from other smaller tribes, and banded them all into one for one great effort. This was, of course, none other than Makana, that wonderful Xosa prophet whom we have briefly noticed in the previous

section (p. 75). His great object was the annihilation of Grahamstown, which was then the newly-established British military headquarters of the eastern province. With wonderful ability Makana got all the Xosas, except those of Ngqika, to co-operate. He amassed them and marshalled them, and, in 1819, led them to attack Grahamstown, but, before doing so, sent an ultimatum to Colonel Willshire, the officer in command of the station, the ultimatum being couched in the words: "We shall breakfast with you to-morrow morning."

MAKANA'S WAR SONG

Wake ! Ama-Xosa, wake !
 And arm yourselves for war,
 As coming winds the forest shake,
 I hear a sound from far.
 It is not thunder in the sky,
 Nor lion's roar upon the hill,
 But the voice of him who sits on high,
 And bids me speak his will.
 He bids me call you forth,
 Bold sons of Rarabe,
 To sweep the white men from the earth
 And drive them to the sea.
 The sea which heaved them up at first,
 For Ama-Xosas' curse and bane,
 Howls for the progeny she nursed,
 To swallow them again.

Then come, ye chieftains bold,
 With war-plumes waving high ;
 Come every warrior, young and old,
 With club and assegai.
 Remember how the spoiler's host
 Did through our land like locusts range !
 Your herds, your wives, your comrades lost—
 Remember and avenge !
 Fling your broad shields away—
 Bootless against such foes ;
 But hand to hand we'll fight to-day,
 And with their bayonets close.
 Grasp each man short his stabbing spear—
 And, when to battle's edge we come,
 Rush on their ranks in full career,
 And to their hearts strike home !
 Wake ! Ama-Xosa, wake !
 And muster for the war ;

The wizard-wolves from Keisis brake,
 The vultures from afar,
 Are gathering at Uhlanga's call,
 And follow fast our westward way—
 For well they know, ere evening fall,
 They shall have glorious prey !

PRINGLE.

At daybreak of the following day, 10,000 Xosas or so were arrayed on the hills overlooking Grahamstown, ready for the attack. Before he gave the command for attack, however, Makana addressed his warriors, very much as Napoleon did his legions after Piedmont victory and before his descent into Lombardy. Like Napoleon he thanked them for their co-operation and loyalty, reviewed their successes in the past, and, as the French military genius reminded his men that Milan was not yet theirs, so the Xosa witch-doctor reminded his men that Grahamstown was not yet theirs. There the analogy ends. Makana went further—he harangued his soldiers on the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead chiefs; he guaranteed their invulnerability, for he said the British bullets would turn into water. Finally the attack was launched with surpassing bravery, but it was met by a destructive curtain fire, which, in a short time, threw the Xosas into confusion. The French did take Milan—the Xosas failed to take Grahamstown. They stopped advancing; they retreated; they ran, leaving some 1500 of their number lying dead or severely wounded on the field, and that ended the breakfast and the campaign. Makana, as mentioned before, gave himself up the following day.

After this 1818-1819 campaign, and the settlement of peace, the country between the Fish River and the Keiskama River was declared No Man's Land; but it was not long to remain so, for the Xosas occupied it on one side and the colonists on the other, and, in 1825, part of it was annexed to Cape Colony; and again, in 1831, grants of land were made in it by the Government to settlers. This, naturally, led to trouble, and in 1834 the country was once more at war.

Sixth Xosa War, 1834.—Broke out after much disturbance on the eastern border of Cape Colony. Gaika had died in 1828, and had been succeeded by his son Makomo. The chief with his people was expelled from Tyumie Valley—part of the neutral territory which he had occupied when the Europeans

occupied the other side of it. The Xosas resented the official annexation of what, a few years before, had been officially proclaimed neutral territory. They devastated the newly-annexed territory, and then in a large body, reinforced by Hottentots, attacked on Christmas Day, the occupants of the usurped lands, causing much destruction of life and property. They were, however, driven back beyond the limits of the colony and the sometime neutral territory by colonial troops and Fingoes, all under Sir Benjamin Durban.

Hintsa, the chief of the Gealeka Xosas, and the moving spirit of this war, was defeated, and asked for peace. He was taken as hostage, but, it is said, in trying to escape on his horse, he was pursued by Colonel Smith and shot by a guide—Southey. Peace was afterwards settled with his (Hintsa's) son—Sarili, or Kreli.

The entire land between the Fish River and the Kei River was now proclaimed a British sovereignty by Sir Benjamin Durban, who appointed officials to supervise the Xosas in it. This measure was acclaimed by the colonists as a masterpiece of administration, but was regarded as robbery by the Xosas. The manner in which this land had been taken from the Xosas struck Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State, and their British friends, as unfair, and he ordered it to be given back unconditionally to its original owners. This reversal of Sir Benjamin Durban's policy by Lord Glenelg might have been inexpedient for the whites, under the circumstances, but it was not unjust, although the colonists regarded it as such, and regard it as one of the causes of the Boer Great Trek which soon followed, the Dutch section being especially infuriated.

The order for the return of the annexed territory to the Xosas was contained in a despatch dated 26th December 1835. "In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony through a long series of years," so read the order, "the Kaffirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed with such fatal imprudence at the close of last year. . . . Urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain. . . ."

“The claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskama and the Kei must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party.”¹

The evidence which influenced Lord Glenelg to the above conclusions was derived mainly from Dr. Philip of the London Missionary Society, who had been resident among the Xosas, and was of opinion that they had been barbarously treated by the Europeans. Needless to add that Dr. Philip, on his return to the Cape, met hostile opposition from the colonists (*vide* Chap. XVI.). Says Dr. Theal, “Lord Glenelg’s despatch spread consternation widely over South Africa. Outside of Dr. Philip’s little party in Cape Town, there was but one opinion: that it destroyed all hope of the enforcement of order, and placed life and whatever property was left in the eastern districts at the mercy of the Kaffirs.”²

In 1840 there was some disturbance on the border, which was, however, settled peaceably by the Governor, Sir George Napier, holding “indaba,” or conference, with the Xosa chiefs. Peace was, however, disturbed soon after by the outbreak of the *Seventh Euro-Xosa War, or War of the Axe, 1846*. A Xosa had been arrested for stealing an axe. He was manacled to a Hottentot prisoner, and the two, accompanied by Hottentot constables, were being taken to the nearest magistracy—Grahamstown. On their way thither, the party were overtaken by a band of Xosas, who immediately demanded the liberation of their countryman. A scuffle ensued, in which one Hottentot and one Xosa were killed, each side thus losing a man, and the Xosas succeeded in liberating their friend.

The Government demanded that the prisoner should be given up, and also the men who had liberated him, but the chief said that as one person had been killed on each side, the matter had had a fair settlement already.

As the Xosas refused to deliver up the enactors of the deed, a two years’ war followed. At first the Xosas were successful, but fortune forsook them in the second year of war. In this war, the Fingoes had again joined the British Government against the Xosas, and they gave the enemy no quarter, and showed him no mercy—prosecuting the war even more keenly

¹ As summarised by Dr. Theal, *History of South Africa*, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

than the colonists. The Xosas were worsted on the Amatola, the Keiskama, and the Kei, the campaign against them being finished by Sir Harry Smith of Indian fame. The Keiskama was proclaimed the eastern boundary of the colony, and the country between the Kei and the Keiskama made a British Crown Colony, under the name of Kaffraria, and peace concluded with Sandili, chief of the Ama-Rarabe Xosas.

The formation of British Kaffraria is important as marking a point in the history of British native policy in South Africa (*vide* Chap. XX.). It forms the end of the non-intervention period—that is, that period during which it was the aim of the Government to interfere as little as possible in Bantu affairs; to let the various chiefs rule their people as best they could; in fact, to let the Xosas do as they liked so long as they did not invade the colony. British Kaffraria was the first example of a Bantu territory coming under the control of the British Government. It was to be administered by a British official, and the Bantu that lived in it had to acknowledge British suzerainty.

Eighth Euro-Xosa War, 1850.—Was one of the most serious struggles that ever took place between the Xosas and the British. After some disquiet on the border, the Xosas broke into the colony on Christmas day, and, joined by Hottentots, they attacked various military posts, and captured one of them. The Xosas overran large districts—Somerset, Albany, and Alexandria—entrenching themselves in the natural strongholds of the Amatola Mountains, from which they now and then descended to play havoc on the outlying districts. The Fingoes had again joined the British forces, and rendered valuable assistance to them. Sarili (or Kreli), the Gcaleka chief, was, however, ultimately defeated, and thousands of his cattle captured. When Cape Colony was thus occupied with the upheaval of the Eighth Xosa War, its attention was soon to be drawn to another British catastrophe—the loss of the troopship *Birkenhead*, which foundered at Danger Point with 400 men, soldiers of the 74th Highland Regiment, and sailors. About this time also, the British forces were severely defeated by the Basuto under Moshesh.

Between the Eighth and the Ninth, or last, Euro-Xosa Wars, 1877, two very important events affecting the interests of the Bantu of South Africa took place. One was the arrival of Sir George Grey as Governor of Cape Colony in 1854, and the other

was the national suicide of the Xosas in 1856. The two circumstances are mentioned in much greater detail in future chapters—Sir George Grey's governorship under the chapter on Education (Chap. XIX.), and the Xosa national suicide under Superstition (Chap. XIII.).

Of Sir George Grey, all that may be said at present is that he stands foremost among colonial governors in his ability for dealing with Bantu affairs. During his short term of office, he laid the foundations of what should be, a lasting peace in South Africa by a far-sighted, wise, and humane administration, which aimed at pacifying the Xosa people, not by warring against them, but by uplifting them, directing their external activities into other and nobler channels than war, and ensuring their progress by industrial education.

The other circumstance—the Xosa national suicide—was an extraordinary event that took place two years after the arrival of Sir George Grey, but had its sources far back in the terrible defeat the Xosas sustained in the Eighth Xosa War, 1850. The Xosa would-be empire makers manoeuvred to place the nation in such a position that they would throw themselves on the British with that mad fury of despair exhibited by an animal at bay. It was calculated that in this way the whites would be annihilated. This was engineered by practising on the credulity of the Xosas by their leaders, who declared that the spirits of their ancestors bade the nation slaughter their cattle and destroy their grain, in return for which fat herds and richer grain would emerge from the ground, and the ancient warrior chiefs return to life to lead the nation to victory. The order was obeyed—70,000 Xosas died of starvation, and the Xosa power was broken by their own foolishness. Their power was broken and seriously crippled, but it was not quite dead, and, after a lull of some time, they still felt equal to crossing swords with the British.

This was the final effort, and may be regarded as a final convulsion before death—the proverbial brightness of a light before it goes out.

In 1877, then, was fought the last, or *Ninth Euro-Xosa War*, when Sarili (or Kreli), chief of the Gealeka Xosas, attacked the Fingoes and the British, being joined by his kinsman, Sandili, chief of the Rarabe Xosas. This war broke out four months after the arrival of one of the ablest governors ever sent to the colonies; this was Sir Bartle Frere, who was sent out by Lord

Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, to facilitate or achieve the federation of the various South African States.

There is a tendency to link, in some mysterious way, the disturbance among the Xosas in Cape Colony at this time with that furious outburst of the Zulus in Zululand which followed soon after. This, however, is merely carrying association too far. The outbreak of the Xosas at the same time as that of the Zulus was a mere coincidence, and not at all an example of *esprit de corps* or co-operation—a thing, then, entirely unknown to the Bantu, and rendered impossible by inter-tribal jealousies. As a matter of fact, in this Ninth Xosa War one section of the Bantu family, namely the Fingoes, were in arms against their kin, being allied with the Europeans, and, similarly, in the Zulu War, some 82,000 native troops were employed against their Zulu brethren.

“Recent years have again shown abundantly how little the South African tribes can do in spite of their numbers and their often conspicuous valour, for want of the mutual confidence which might unite them and give a firm ground for their efforts.”¹

¹ F. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. i. p. 136.

CHAPTER VIII

BANTU : DAMARAS (THIRD ETHNICAL GROUP); EUR-AFRICANS

THE Bantu of the (south) west coast comprise the

1. Berg or Hill Damaras.
2. Plain Damaras or Ovaherero; and
3. Ovambo.

Very little is known of these tribes—far less than is known of the tribes of the interior or those of the east coast. For this reason, but also because these tribes are beyond British South Africa, only little can be said about them here.

The Bantu of the (south) west coast represent that section of the Bantu who, coming from the region of the Great Lakes, struck in a south-westerly direction, forming thus the right arm or branch of the migrating mass, which bifurcated somewhere about the southern shores of Lake Tanganyika.

Berg Damaras.—These were the pioneers of the Bantu race on the west coast of Southern Africa. They, therefore, were the first to come into contact with the Hottentots, with whom they began an endless conflict, which resulted in the defeat and enslavement of the invading Damaras. The vanquished Damaras were thus forced to take to the hills, for these not being fertile, were no temptation to the stronger enemy, and as they were not easily accessible, they afforded greater protection to the weak tribe.

The Berg or Hill Damaras were not agricultural like most Bantu, and they only kept little live stock; indeed the nature of the parts of the land they inhabited was not conducive to the practice either of agriculture or stock-breeding. Moreover, they were at constant war with the Hottentots on the one side and the powerful Ovaherero on the other.

The Berg Damaras, though of Bantu family, are Hottentot in language and usages—the result of the enslavement of many successive generations.

Ovaherero or *Plain Damaras* are neighbours of the Hill or Berg Damaras, by whom they were preceded by only a short space of time. The two were, however, at more or less constant warfare. The Ovaherero tilled the soil and kept live stock. They were divided into several tribes and clans under independent chiefs. The best known of these tribes are the Ovabanderu and the Ova-Tyimba. The Damaras are uniformly tall people, and darker than the other Bantu. They are said to have a larger proportion of Negro blood than these also.

Ovambo, including the Ovakwanyama and Aadonga, occupy the fertile plateau along the south-west seaboard (about 10-13° S. lat.). They are an industrious people, who cultivate the soil and breed cattle and sheep.

Farther north are the Bantu inhabitants of the Portuguese territory of Angola, and then the Congolese or Bantu of the Congo State. The northern Congolese partake more of the true Negro, and the southern more of the Negroid or Bantu character. Some of the nations found here are the Bateke, Ba Nyasi, Basoko, Bapoto, and Bangala.

Such are the Bantu nations of the south-west coast, but directly continuous with them, and extending more inland, are others much akin to them, and indicating as it were the route along which the south-west coast Bantu migrated. These are the Mashona and Batonga along the southern and northern banks of the Zambesi respectively, the Barotse north of the Zambesi, whose late ruler, Lewanika, was well known; the Bansenga and Bangoni further north, and extending into West Nyasaland.

The latter—Bangoni, or Angoni—are said to be descendants of the Zulus who rebelled against Tshaka of Zululand, and, under Zwangendaba, crossed the Zambesi in 1825. The Anyanja of British Central Africa and the Ma-Yao of the Shiré Highlands are their kinsmen. Further to the north are the Baganda and the Banyoro of the Uganda British Protectorate round the northern shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Thus far extend the Bantu, and Uganda seems to be the point of their original concentration, whence they poured downwards and southwards in successive batches, some along the midlands to form the First Ethnical Group of the interior; some along the south-east coast to form the Second Ethnical Group of the south-east coast; and others along the south-west coast to form the Third Ethnical Group of the south-west coast.

2. EUR-AFRICANS AND MALAYS

The population of Southern Africa falls into two general ethnological groups, namely Black and White—the black being represented by the Bantu and the white by the Europeans. But this is only a rough and therefore not strictly accurate differentiation. As under the Whites or Europeans are included Jews, who are really Asiatic, so under Blacks come a class of people generally referred to as “Coloured People,” as distinguished from the Bantu. The name varies in its applications with personal taste. Some use it for the people of mixed blood only, others for the population which is neither European nor Bantu, and a few more for the entire non-white population of South Africa. Perhaps the application in the second sense, *i.e.* neither European nor Bantu, is that generally understood by most people in South Africa.

So used, the word “coloured” includes—

1. The Eur-Africans.
2. The Malays of South Africa.
3. The Indians, and sometimes Arabs and Chinese, domiciled in South Africa.
4. Half-castes and bastards (as they are called) of all kinds, chiefly represented by mixed Mozambiques and Griquas.
5. People from African Islands, *e.g.* St. Helena and Mauritius.

Of these classes, by far the greatest in number are the first two, namely the Eur-Africans and the Malays, who monopolise the name “Coloured People.” Each of the above classes of people keeps very much to itself and has little or no social or matrimonial admixture with another. In fact they have very little in common.

They differ in race, religion, language, and customs. Then neither the Eur-Africans nor the Asiatics mix either with the Europeans or with the Bantu, from each of whom they are quite distinct. Politically, however, the Eur-Africans and Malays make common cause.

In number they are about 500,000 or so, and by far the greatest number of them, about 400,000, is in the Cape Province, and especially aggregated in and round about Capetown.

The Malays are mostly descendants of the Malay slave population, who were brought over from Java and other islands of the Malay Archipelago by the Dutch East India Company from 1654.

The Eur-Africans, on the other hand, are sprung from the intermingling of European—especially Dutch—blood on the one hand with that of the Malays, the Hottentots, and the Bantu on the other. This intermingling took place, chiefly in the slave-holding days of Cape Colony (1654 to 1834), but has gone on at all times.

Thus Olive Schreiner tells, in her *Stray Thoughts about South Africa*, how that out of every four children born to a slave mother three were by her master. Another writer, V. R. Markham, *South Africa Past and Present*, p. 21, says :—

“ Another element in the Boer’s ancestry must not be overlooked, namely, the strain of Hottentot and Kaffir blood which undoubtedly runs in their veins. The antipathy with which the Dutch at present regard the natives is not noticeable in their early records. On the contrary, marriages between the Company’s servants and native girls were actually encouraged as tending to improve the mutual relations of Hottentots and settlers. We hear of the marriage of a Hottentot girl, Eva, with one of Van Riebeeck’s surgeons, and the festivities which took place on that occasion. Irregular alliances between the Dutch and the native women were very common. The Griquas, or half-breeds, sprung from such unions are a dwindling race, but the very existence of such a race is a commentary on that high morality of the Boers strongly insisted upon by some people. It is well to remember these simple, religious peasants have nevertheless peopled whole districts of South Africa with bastard descendants. . . . It is unnecessary to exaggerate this strain of black blood in the Boer ancestry, but it cannot be totally ignored.”

Once started, of course, the Eur-African population propagated itself. Rarely did it re-mix with its African progenitors, much less rarely and much more readily it mixed again with its European progenitors. Of late years there has been much organisation and unification of the Eur-Africans and Malays or coloured people in South Africa, due principally to the efforts and devotion of their leaders—the best known of whom is Dr. A. Abdurrahman, a man of parts, a scholar and a graduate in medicine of the University of Glasgow. By his efforts and example on the one side, and the efforts and example of the Bantu leaders on the other, there is more drawing together of what should never have been separate—namely the Coloured People and the Bantu people, though this has not gone on at

a pace that circumstances warrant and one would like. For the law in South Africa does not recognise any but white and non-white, or simply white and black, for in the South African oligarchy, the privileged class insists on its members being "of pure European extraction." All who are not of that, whether of crossed European extraction or of no European extraction at all, whether only half of their blood be black and the other half white, or their blood be all *black*—such people, *so long as they are recognisedly* not of pure European descent, belong to the unprivileged class. Because they are not *white*, therefore they are *black*, and must suffer the disabilities of the blacks in every sphere—civil, social, and political.

The Eur-Africans are a progressive set of people, sober, honest, and industrious. In their habits they take much more after their European than their African progenitors. Where possible, they live in towns—like Capetown, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, etc.—rather than in the country. In their style of living, they are as European as their means allow them. They all talk South African Dutch (Taal). Many talk English as well. Very few of them talk Bantu languages, the exceptions being those who live in places where one or other of the Bantu nationalities largely predominates, *e.g.* Bechuana in Orange Free State and Zulus in Natal. None of them, practically speaking, practise polygamy like many Bantu by whom they are surrounded. In religion they profess Christianity and have several fine churches.

They receive their education together with the Bantu children from mission schools, but there are schools also specially for Eur-African coloured children.

Altogether the Eur-Africans are such a fine people that they are a standing refutation of that oft-reiterated dogmatism—that the offspring of a union of two very different nationalities tends to inherit the weaknesses only of both progenitors—losing the physical stamina of the backward parent and the moral sense of the more advanced one.

CHAPTER IX

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

HAVING considered the South African Bantu under the three ethnical groups into which they resolve themselves, it is convenient at this stage to inquire into their usages and their manners. In so doing, we shall speak in the past tense, as the condition of the Bantu *before they came into contact with the missionaries or any other civilising influence* is that considered in this chapter. Many things in this chapter are, of course, as true of the Bantu of to-day as of those of yesterday, but the majority would be untrue. But to avoid confusion and retain uniformity, the reader may imagine the Bantu of the middle of the nineteenth century.

Government.—The government of the Bantu was essentially patriarchal. The chief was the head and father of his tribe. He was, at the same time, commander-in-chief of his armies, judge and high priest. Below him were petty chiefs—heads of affiliated smaller tribes; and still lower were petty chiefs over the clans of the mother tribe; and so on down to a family—the unit—whose chief was the father. Thus the government was composed of regularly graded executive powers, represented by chiefs, each responsible to his immediate senior, the whole organisation of the Bantu state thus forming an elaborate system of responsible government.

It is both instructive and interesting to note the close resemblance between the Bantu polity and the ancient "State" of the European nations in whom the government was also essentially patriarchal. "In most of the Greek States and in Rome," says Sir Henry Maine, "there long remained the vestiges of an ascending series of groups out of which the State was at first constituted. The Family, House, and Tribe of the Romans may be taken as the type of them, and they are so described

to us that we can scarcely help conceiving them as a system of concentric circles which have gradually expanded from the same point. The elementary group is the Family connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of Families forms the Gens or House. The aggregation of Houses makes the Tribe, the aggregation of Tribes constitutes the Commonwealth.”¹

As before noted, among the military tribes of the east coast—the Xosa-Zulu nations—the government tended more towards despotism, the chief being a military autocrat in most cases. Among the tribes of the interior—the Bechuana-Basuto nations,—on the other hand, the government was democratic, the power of the chief being limited by public sentiment as expressed by his counsellors, who were the representatives of the people.

The various members of the tribe were bound together by a strong social element, a kind of an unwritten law, a tradition which every member of the tribe was brought up to respect and uphold. If he failed to do this, if he put his personal interests before those of the tribe, or if he did aught that was calculated to serve only a sect rather than the whole tribe, such a person was exposing himself to severe censure from all sides, and even to the danger of violent death—for anti-social practices were considered at once heresy and treason.

The Bantu among themselves never dreamt of, much less experienced, any highly centralised form of government, no larger *administrative unit* than a tribe forming the Bantu State. The citizens of the tribal state lived in villages whose populations ranged from 50 to 500—much less often 1000 or more souls. Each village was more or less an entity—independent of other villages socially, economically, and, to a much less degree, politically. The administration of the village was in the hands of a Headman who was a vice-roi—a representative of the supreme ruler of the tribe. The village in which the chief himself lived formed, of course, the tribal metropolis, the administrative headquarters.

Each village was self-supporting and self-sufficing—cultivating its own fields, raising its own crops, and producing its own food.

The Bantu family was a compound of many families. Sons and daughters—whatever their age or condition as to marriage and circumstances—remained subject to their parents. If they married and had children, their families did not become separate

¹ Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 135.

and independent, but formed part of the original family. In short, parents, their children, their grandchildren, and—it may be—their great-grandchildren, all formed one family—a joint-family. They all dwelt together in one part of the village, their houses being continuous, that is, uninterrupted by houses of other families, and disposed in simple geometric figures—circles, semicircles, and quadrilaterals.

The village was thus made up of several joint-families, each occupying a distinct ward or division. Each of these divisions or quarters was called after the oldest male ascendant, as “the division of such and such.” Given any surname, therefore, it was the simplest thing in the world to find the address.

The village was a co-operative society between whose members inter-dependence was a *sine qua non*. Just as the village was a co-operative union of families, so the tribe was a co-operative union of villages. In this tribal union there was real brotherhood and the nearest approach to social and economic equality. The fibre running through the feeling of brotherhood was consanguinity—each member of the tribe believing himself related by blood and descent to another member. This, of course, was often a pure myth, as when the mother tribe was composed of affiliated smaller tribes.

In the Bantu tribal system, services were not paid for, nor did anybody expect it. While there was food anywhere in the village or tribal domain, nobody need starve, for the rich gave freely to the needy, hardly recognising that they were giving alms any more than the poor imagined themselves objects of charity.

The combinations and contrasts of capitalism and pauperism, competition and despair, sinecures and sweated labour, gorgedness and squalor were impossible under the Bantu policy. Individualism, as understood in the Western world, could not thrive. Collectivism was the civic law, communism and a true form of socialism the dominating principle and ruling spirit.

No race or society is really entirely communistic, and so we find that even among the Bantu, private property—such as cattle—existed side by side with communal property, such as land.

All the property of the tribe was supposed to be the chief's—land, cattle, and even the lives of the members of the tribe—and all loyal men delighted in considering themselves merely stewards and retainers of their possessions for the king. The uncultivated lands were shared communally by the tribe—land

surveyors and surveying were unknown and needless, so any member of the tribe might graze his stock wherever he liked. It will be evident to the reader that a Bantu tribe was a huge social organisation, to promote whose welfare was incumbent upon every member. When this is realised, an important step will have been taken towards realising the whole code of morals by which the Bantu people were governed—a code recognised by few and appreciated by fewer still of the army of writers on the morals of the Blacks and so forth. We invite the reader's sympathetic, not to say biassed, consideration of the facts.

How then shall we define this social something, which was and is the underlying factor of Bantu moral conduct. What is that that formed the pivot of their code of morals, governed the relationship of one member of the tribe with his fellow-tribesman and with a member of another tribe, or the relationship of one tribe with another! These questions are fairly accurately answered in one word—Utilitarianism. The greatest happiness and good of the tribe was the end and aim of each member of the tribe. Now, utility forms part of the basis of perhaps all moral codes. With the Bantu, it formed *the* basis of morality, but it was not utility pure and simple, the utility of *egoism*. It was not personal. It was tribal. It was utilitarianism. This was the standard of goodness, and in harmony with, and conformity to, this end must the moral conduct be moulded. The effect of this, of course, was an altruism, narrow and restricted, it is true, as extending no further than the tribe, but at the same time, and perhaps for that very reason, earnest and almost fanatical as being also traditional and inherent in the tribe.

An example or two will clarify this better than many pages of explanation. The average native of South Africa would not harm, in word or deed, his tribe or its head—the chief. Even if he was a thief or a liar he would not steal from, or lie to the chief. He would say and do nothing that was to the prejudice of his people. On the other hand if he could by stealing or lying advance the interests of his chief and tribe, or if his so doing would be harmful to the interests of his chief's enemies, he did not hesitate to steal and lie on a grand scale, and he won for himself public approval and universal applause. It is the old story of circumstances altering cases. The wrong of telling a lie or stealing, in his idea, was not at all absolute,

but wholly relative. In some cases the acts became positive virtues, as when they were for the social welfare of the tribe; and in other cases they became crimes of the deepest dye, as when they were to the prejudice of the tribe.

Now, when we say stealing, we don't mean larcenies, small liftings, pilferings, petty thefts, and the like. No man could expect to serve any good by stealing a knife or a hat or even a goat from a neighbouring tribe. No, commendable behaviour consisted almost exclusively in cattle-lifting—a game extremely difficult of execution by a man single-handed, so that it was done in organised cattle raids which ended as often as not in inter-tribal war. The reader will, in fact, form quite a good picture of these cattle raids if he recalls the accounts of the Scotch moss-troopers like William Deloraine, and the Anglo-Scotch border forays.

The same greatness of spirit entered into the evasion of the truth. If it was in the interests of the tribe—that is, diplomatic—then only was it praiseworthy; but to be caught fibbing and tongue-slipping here and there to a fellow-tribesman was at all times reprehensible; to the chief—it was punishable corporally and by a fine.

This evasion of the truth by the Bantu was a constant subject of comment by many people who first came into contact with them in their natural or primitive condition. It has, however, been grossly exaggerated, and some have gone so far as to state that the Bantu people were incapable of truth. So far from this being the case, however, the Bantu were capable of the greatest honesty and truth, as all who know them admit; only, the stranger often entirely missed their view-point, and perhaps very naturally became irritated, when after asking a thousand and one questions he was as far from the truth as when he had not asked the first question. The actual case is, a Bantu native was a diplomat by nature. Centuries of oppression sharpened his diplomacy and united to it suspicion of all who were not members of his tribe, particularly if they were not of his colour. The inquisitiveness of a foreigner, then, only enhanced and confirmed this suspicion, and elicited, first, evasive monosyllables, and then designedly misleading answers. If, for instance, he was asked the way to the chief's "great place," or abode, the tribesman would deliberately point the opposite way, not at all from any love of mischief or lying, but simply and solely from instinct and love of duty to protect the chief and the

tribe, because, for all the tribesman knew, this foreigner might be a slave-raider, a magician, or some such person—all people capable of doing grave damage, of which, had he acted otherwise than befitted a loyal tribesman, he might afterwards sorely repent. Prevention, then, is better than cure, and so there is the opposite way to the chief's "great place."

Let, however, anyone, any foreigner of any colour, show himself so friendly disposed as to totally disarm this poor savage of his defensive suspicion, let him display but a small fraction of the civility and goodwill of a gentleman and Christian, if he does this, he will find the staunchest ally in the self-same savage, for this man will deal fairly with him in word and deed; more, he will protect the new-comer's person and property. All the great travellers, explorers, and missionaries in the Dark Continent are agreed on this score.

Pursuits.—The Bantu people practised agriculture, on which depended largely their means of subsistence. The cereals which they raised were principally millet (*Holcus caffrorum*), known also as durrha or Kaffir corn, mealies (*Holcus sorghum*) or Indian corn. This latter is said to have been introduced by the Portuguese. The Bantu also raised pumpkins, melons, sweet-reed—a diminutive kind of sugar-cane—and beans. Besides being agricultural they were pastoral, keeping and raising live stock—cattle, sheep, and goats. In these the wealth of the Bantu consisted. The animals also formed a medium of exchange. The warlike coast tribes were more pastoral, while the peaceful tribes of the interior practised agriculture to a greater extent. In all, however, the principles of scientific agriculture, as now understood, were entirely unknown, and with such rude implements as they possessed, the tilling of the soil, even by the most agriculturally inclined of the Bantu, must have been of the most primitive kind, consisting to a great extent, of the mere turning over of the superficial earth and waiting on beneficent Nature to complete the work. Further, this work fell to the lot of women, men being more often away from home—fighting, hunting, or trading. This tilling of the soil was done by means of hoes, shortly after the first summer rains. The results were almost invariably favourable in the old days—the return of harvest plentiful.

“Plough but the furrows and the fruits arise;
Content with small endeavours till they spring.”

VIRGIL.

This was, of course, due to the greater equableness of the weather and the regularity of the rains—heat and moisture taking each their due share in favouring the germination of the seeds, growth, and maturation of the grain. In these latter years the rains have become more and more scanty, the entire land has gradually undergone desiccation, and labour on the fields is now not attended with such bounteous returns as before. This may be due to purely meteorological changes, but it has certainly been accelerated by the process of deforestation and also the habit of setting grass over large areas of land on fire.

The cessation of inter-tribal wars and the introduction of the plough have entirely revolutionised the practice of agriculture among the Bantu, for not only is the whole work done by men (women must on no account come near oxen, which the use of the plough necessitates) but the extent to, and the manner in which the land is cultivated, even now insufficient, is yet more deserving of the name of agriculture. There is, perhaps, no single machine which has done so much for the civilisation of the Bantu as the plough.

From the cereals raised, flour was prepared by the women by crushing the grain between two stones—one large and flat, the other much smaller, and ovoid in shape. This latter did the crushing by a forward and backward movement. The meal so got was used for making porridge in the ordinary way, or for making a mildly fermented “porridgy” drink, known as *utjwala* or *bojaloa*. Some people got themselves intoxicated on this by taking enormous quantities.

The Bantu people could consume surprisingly large quantities of meat, beef or mutton—that, too, without its usual accompaniments like vegetables and potatoes. In fact, for their subtropical climate, these people ate very little vegetables.

Fish and pork were regarded as unclean by most, fish being classed, according to their knowledge of zoology, with the snakes and other Reptilia.

The flesh of many wild animals, including the wild cat, was eaten with gusto. It is reported that many Bantu tribes, when reduced to extremity, made no scruple of eating human flesh.

War.—Inter-tribal and inter-racial war was the normal state and constant occupation of the primitive Bantu. Among the less warlike of them, cattle-lifting, illegal land appropriation, or injury to a tribesman by a neighbouring tribe, were advanced as the usual pretexts. Among the more bellicose, no

reason was given, but one tribe just swooped down on another, butchered young and old, male and female, or spared the latter as it pleased the general in command, and carried off cattle. There was no recognition of the white flag—in fact, no such thing was known. The conquered enemy must fly or die, for, in any case, submission spelt death. Prisoners were an exception to the rule, especially men prisoners. Young females might be taken as prospective wives to the soldiers.

A recrudescence was observable in the latter-day Bantu practice of war. For the antiquarians state that formerly it was a recognised inter-tribal law to send an ultimatum before actually commencing hostilities, and further that females were never killed in cold blood. In later years, however, these humane obligations were trampled under foot. No ultimatum and no female stood in the way of general massacre.

The effects of these inter-tribal wars of the Bantu can easily be understood. Large tracts of the country were entirely depopulated by the complete extermination of their inhabitants, whole tribes being wiped off the face of the earth, as by the bloody campaigns of Tshaka—the Attila of South Africa in the nineteenth century—and the almost equally relentless, though unprovoked, massacres of the Matabele by Moselekatse; the remaining tribes, if conquered and put to flight, were so confused as to lose connection for ever with their ethnical relatives, thus leaving gaps which are to be found in the ethnographical history of the Bantu. But these effects are trivial when compared with the third effect which war, especially constant inter-tribal war, must invariably produce, and that is, the production of stagnation, the hindrance to, and prevention of any social progress and intellectual advancement. For it is a remarkable fact that while the love of war is itself primarily a result of ignorance, war in its turn so reacts on the people who practise it as to arrest all progress, and is thus at once a cause and effect of ignorance and backwardness. And while the stagnation and stereotypy of the Bantu cannot be explained away simply on the ground of their devotion to war, yet it cannot be denied that war has been one of the chief factors of their lagging behind in the general onward march of humanity. This fact is beautifully illustrated in the relative condition of the Bantu themselves, for we have already shown that, according as their devotion to war decreased, so their skill in civilised practices and arts increased, or in other words an inverse

ratio existed between their practice of war and their degree of civilisation.

The weapons of the Bantu were of a most primitive kind, and consisted of an assegai or spear, and a shield. The latter, among the coast tribes, was large—nearly as high as a man, and elliptical or oval in shape. Among the tribes of the interior the shield was much smaller in size and roughly square in shape. In each case the shields were made of ox or buffalo hide. A knob-kерrie or knobbed stick was, in addition, carried by the Xosa-Zulu tribes for hand-to-hand fighting, in the place of the sabre among the European nations. The army, as such, had no separate existence. Every male was expected to serve—the condition being very much like that in Europe before the invention of gunpowder in the fourteenth century, when every man was a soldier and standing armies were entirely unknown.

Institutes.—At the age when the children of civilised nations begin to attend school, the Bantu children also began to attend their school, only this was not the receiving of kindergarten lessons and letter clay-modelling. The little boys at the early age of five or six began to look after kids—true kids, or young goats—not children, as the colloquial expression signifies by that word. The girls of the same age were initiated into the mysteries of household work and domestic duties, such, for instance, as the fetching of water, the tidying of the house, the “stamping” of corn, and preparation of food. These various and other duties the girls kept up until they reached womanhood, when they now assumed responsibilities as housewives.

The young boys generally kept on herding kids—a duty which did not take them fifty yards from the kraal—until they reached the age of ten or so, when they passed their first standard, and now began to look after calves. A little later they were promoted to tend sheep and goats, and, at about fourteen to sixteen, they reached the highest “form” or standard as boys. They now herded cattle.

Thus, from a very early age, a Bantu boy was introduced to the domestic animals. The value of cattle was especially inculcated into him. He spent many years in looking after them, studying their habits, and training them as best he could. The cattle-post was his training school and college, and the cattle were his lessons and material on which he must experiment, and so adept did he become that, without the least idea of figures or ability to count beyond ten, he could, by a mere

glance, tell if any ox or a cow was missing out of a hundred or so, and, what is more, he could immediately say which animal was missing. This was possible because he made a mental picture of the colours of his herd of cattle, and had a ready kind of mnemonic of the character of each animal. The Bantu boy was expected to be able to follow up a lost animal by its "spoor," or track, and if ever he was unsuccessful in the search of such an animal, he was invariably called *mathogole*, that is "sluggard," or "rotter," a very unkind epithet it must be admitted, especially as it was applied quite irrespective of the diligence in the search.

When the Bantu boy had finished his training at the cattle-post, he was generally distinguished from boys who had not been so trained, by very practical common sense, a considerable acquaintance with the laws and customs of his tribe, and a tolerable acquaintance with biology—entirely self acquired by keen observation, for he had early been made to develop the natural senses. He knew thoroughly the processes of reproduction and variation in domestic animals. His cattle-pen school had improved him, not only mentally, but also physically, for a boy from the cattle-post was generally healthier and better-developed than the one who had not gone there.

Boguera, or Rites of Circumcision.—This was a common practice among the Bantu. Every three, four, or five years boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one were collected into *mephato*, or regiments, to undergo the rites of circumcision. This boguera of the Bantu was analogous to the assumption of the *toga virilis* of the ancient Romans, for the youth who had undergone the rites was recognised as a *man*, having before this been a *boy*. The young men who were undergoing the rites were known as *makoloanyane* among the Bechuana, and *abakweta* among the Xosa-Zulu peoples. They were isolated for a period of three months, being supervised in the meantime by antiquarians, who lectured them on the tribal traditions and customary laws, trained them to despise danger and never to show the feelings of surprise, fear, or pain—it was the place of women to do that—but, above all, their duty was to honour and protect the supreme chief, and to put the interests of the tribe before their own personal interests.

The mophato¹ or company formed at any time had for its

¹ *Mo-phato* = regiment (sing.).

Me-phato = regiments (plu.).

leader a son of the chief, who was, in fact, their captain, and they a regiment. Each of the regiments formed, say, every four years, had a distinctive name given it by the supervising antiquarians. Thus among the Barolong there were Matsetse (Fleas), Magodu (Thieves), Matlhasela (Invaders), Maganela (Disputants), and so forth, in very much the same way as there are regiments called the Seaforths, the Scots Guards, the Coldstreams, and so on.

Young men who were called out to undergo the circumcision rites at the same time regarded themselves ever after as prototypes, and the prototypes of the chief's son who captained them.

After their three months' isolation, the young men's term of training ended, and was formally closed by holding a war dance in the chief's *khotla*, or assembly yard.

Any regiment was liable to be called upon at any time by the chief to do any work—build a bridge, a house, prepare roads, cut down trees, and so forth. Each had, of course, to provide his food, and the work was a free service to the tribe, no one getting paid. Absentees were fined.

At the formation of every new regiment the oldest liable to service was released, but there were always about five or six regiments liable to service, the ages of these ranging from nineteen to forty-five or so. The regimental system formed the most approximate means of estimating age among these people, whose unit of time was the day, and its lowest multiple the lunar month.

As mentioned, a youth who had been to boguera was considered to have entered the state of manhood. He could now attend the assembly yard (*khotla*), and take part in national deliberations. The institution of boguera was rather civil than religious.

Bojale.—A similar institution to boguera among the boys was *bojale* for girls. Females of the ages between sixteen and twenty were isolated for a corresponding term under austere matrons, who taught them the rudimentary principles of motherhood, taught them the duties of wives to husbands, their duties to the state and to the chief.

The proceedings were, however, always a jealously-guarded secret. It is generally presumed that some of these proceedings could not have stood daylight, but it is more likely that the young women would be given some lessons in what, for want of more appropriate terms, might be called hygiene and maternity.

The maidens undergoing training were generally painted in bewildering colours. They also completed their term of training by giving a dance in the royal assembly yard. This dance differed entirely from that performed on other occasions, being, unlike them, a display of skill and training. The movements were complex, but executed simultaneously by companies, ranging in number, it may be, above a hundred. The girls, on these occasions, were dressed in kilts made of tubular pieces of reed strung together—very much like bead-blinds. On their ankles they wore pods of a thorn bush. The reeds and the pods thus made crackling sounds during the various movements, and so ensured uniformity of rhythm for the performers.

During these dances, the old women looking on generally seemed to be intoxicated with delight, making harsh shrieking cries (*megolokuane*) by way of applause.

The girls who had undergone such *bojale* training were now regarded as women. They could now legally claim “rights for women.” No self-respecting woman who had undergone *bojale* would ever dream of listening to the suit of any man who had not undergone *boguera*.

Lobola.—Among all Bantu people the institution of marriage was conducted on rather peculiar lines, inasmuch as, in the majority of cases, the parties to be united had little or no say in the matter. In some Bantu tribes, indeed, the parties did not even know each other. The whole contract was then mostly settled by the parents.

An important and constant adjunct to marriage was the custom known as *uku-lobola* by the Xosa-Zulu tribes, and *bogadi* by the Bechuana people. This custom, which may be called an inverted dowry, consisted in the giving of a certain number of cattle—ten to twenty—by the man to the father of his bride. This strange custom was widespread, and very deeply rooted, so that it is still very widely practised. To a stranger it is nothing more or less than a commercial concern, a bargain, the father giving his daughter and receiving in return so many head of cattle, and, in effect, it is, indeed, a purchase. Originally, however, the custom of *lobola* had a higher significance. Among other things it was a means of securing the wife against ill-treatment, for if she was ill-used she could leave her husband and return to her father, but the cattle were not returned. It is also true that a woman who was married according to the *lobola* custom was, for that very reason, better

respected by her neighbours than she would otherwise have been.

To be a father was a great glory among the Bantu. Now if a man should marry without tolling out lobola, the children born to him were not considered legally his. They were his wife's, and, in case of separation, she had a legal right to take them away with her.

Among many, the custom of lobola must have degenerated to a purely commercial idea, losing its original significance. It must, however, be said that the woman was not entirely a negotiable commodity, even among these, for though so many oxen were paid out to get her, she could not again be sold by the first purchaser.

As to its origin, lobola seems first to have been a voluntary gift to the mother of the bride, by way of compensating her for her pains and trouble in the bringing up of her daughter, now the bride. In fact, the derivation of the word means to assuage, to mollify, to placate. Thus, the cattle given by the bridegroom were, by rights, the mother's (that is, meant for his mother-in-law). In support of this theory, it may be mentioned that, among the Bantu, or at any rate the Bechuana, it is a time-honoured custom for a man, on acquiring property, to give a substantial present to the woman who acted as his nurse during his infancy, this present being termed mabelegi, or "the nurse's due." Lobola is something analogous to this.

Marriage.—When a woman was about to get married, she was kept in seclusion for a number of days before the date of the marriage ceremony. During these days she spent most of her time in her room at her toilette, painting her face with ochre or red clay, which has the reputation for "beautifying the skin and imparting to it a glossy, velvety feel." On the appointed day for "giving away the girl," the bridegroom's party marched in the morning to the bride's abode, and there the intended couple realised their dream, without any religious ceremony.

The sheep and goats were slaughtered, and when meat and other kinds of food—mealies, porridge, and "Kaffir beer"—were being got ready for the marriage feast, dancing was enthusiastically engaged in.

Bantu dancing was very peculiar on these occasions. There were none of the graceful movements of the waltz, no methodical and harmonious sequence of figures of the minuet or the quadrilles, or even the two-step. It was all a confused and inde-

pendent jumping and jumping among men, a twirling this way, and a rotation that way, of their female partners, and yet crude as the whole thing was, it was not totally devoid of beauty. The females performed, besides, another form of dancing—a much more graceful series of movements, the execution of which required skill. This consisted in the keeping of the lower part of the body immobile, and playing with the upper, especially the shoulders, at the same time going down gradually on the knees.

After the dance, feasting was begun on a grand scale, meat being consumed in amazing proportions, and without bread, vegetables, or condiments. The alternation of eating and dancing might go on for two or three days. When the festivities were ended, and the newly-married couple now ready to go to their home, the bride's mother was expected to cry freely at the "loss" of her daughter. Eventually, when she did leave, her father, according to custom, gave her two or three cows. These cows were to be exclusively hers, and the husband dare not touch them on any pretext whatsoever, as that would signify contempt of custom, an offence almost equal in gravity to treason in the State and heresy in the Church.

Among the Bechuana-Basuto nations marriage was not allowed between paternal cousins. The Xosa-Zulu nations went further, and prohibited marriage between all blood relations.

Motherhood.—Among the Bantu women, motherhood is a cause for great delight, even more so than it is among women of other nations. When a woman was brought to bed, she was generally attended by old matrons, with her mother and mother-in-law, who, without any previous technical training, acted as midwives. In spite of the entire ignorance of obstetrics prevailing among the Bantu people, labour was generally conducted very successfully. This was, without doubt, due to the health and vigour of the women, who, living in the open country, and under a healthy climate such as South Africa possesses, developed none of those morbid conditions like osteomalacia (or bone-softening) and rickets, which are the common causes of deformed pelvis¹ and, therefore, difficult labour in the city dwellers.

Should parturition be attended with difficulty, however, this was immediately put down to the influence of evil spirits, making the child unwilling to come into the world. Pressure was applied on the abdomen,² the patient placed in divers positions

¹ Pelvis = bony cavity that forms the lower part of the belly.

² Abdomen = belly.

and shaken violently to incommode the infesting spirits. But cases of unnatural labour were extremely rare; when they occurred the case had usually a fatal termination. As the women never interfered with normal labour, child-bed fever (puerperal sepsis) was practically unknown.

In the much commoner favourable cases, the woman, after becoming a mother, was confined to a back house. The anxious father was notified early as to the sex of the child. The witch-doctor was next called in to give charms for the protection of the little stranger just beginning the journey of life. Besides prescribing and dispensing certain infallible roots and herbs, the witch-doctor performed a little surgical operation in the form of lancing the baby over the wrists and waist, and instilling into the cuts some protective substances—in fact this wise man inoculated the baby against all evil powers, whether natural or supernatural.

During her confinement (or *botsetsi*), which extended generally over two or three months, the new mother spent practically all her time in bed, literally fulfilling the lofty mission of sleeping, eating, and drinking. The aim was to get herself as fat as possible, for corpulence is, among the Bantu, a greatly desired condition, being regarded as adding to personal beauty. The new mother, therefore, was liberally supplied with meat and porridge, and on these she made tremendous assaults.

At the end of the vegetating period of three months or so, she was a sight. On precisely the day she “emerged from the house,” as the expression is, she bedecked herself in the brightest colours she could lay her hands on, and was visited by her female friends of the village, through whose hands the baby passed in rapid succession, each one having, of course, some remark to make about the baby. “He is like his father!” “He is like his grandmother!” “He will be a great man!” and so following. For three more months after the confinement the mother must still make destructive inroads into foodstuffs.

The baby was kept on the breast for about nine months. It passed most of its first two years of existence on the nurse’s back, to which it was tied astride by means of a flat leather piece known as *thari*.

Bantu women had none of the new-fangled ideas about having only a limited number of children. Each woman bore as many children as she safely could without prejudice to health, and, generally, the more children she had, the more she was proud

of herself. This, combined with the fact that almost every woman without exception bore children, tended to swell the numbers of each Bantu tribe.

The average number of children in each family was about nine. Many had more—thirteen to fifteen—and a few had as many as twenty, and we have heard of a case in which one woman had twenty-four children.

The large size of the families was, of course, due to the fact that it took very little to bring up a child, clothing being the minimum, school education none, and food cheap, plentiful, and easily obtained.

If a woman thought she was unlucky with children of one sex—supposing she had lost two or three baby boys, if she should give birth to the fourth, she would give it a girl's name, the supposed rationale being that the spirits who seemed to have a partiality for the boys would thus be deceived and take the fourth baby boy for a girl.

Names of children were taken from the events that were taking place about the time of their birth. Thus children born, say, during the South African War might be called Leburu (Boer), Ntoa (War), Maksone (Maxim), Kganelo (Siege), and so forth.

The parents were generally called by prefixing Ma (mother of) for the mother, and Ra (father of) for the father—to the name of their first born. Thus the parents of Leburu would be called Ma-Leburu and Ra-Leburu, the mother and the father respectively.

All monsters among the Bantu were destroyed at birth by popular consent. Imbeciles also were clubbed to death or otherwise exposed to death. As a result of this regular weeding out of the unfit, the race was extremely virile. Now and then, indeed, a mother secreted away some monstrous offspring, but somehow it never lived very long, as often as not dying in some mysterious manner.

Ethically, of course, baby-killing is *wrong*, whatever the baby be.

Twins were common, and fairly welcome. Triplets were tolerated, quadruplets were most likely unwelcome when such a birth occurred.

Polygamy.—Plurality of wives was a very extensive custom among the Bantu, and, in fact, African Negroes in general, but while it was thus permitted by customary law, polygamy was

not as general as might be supposed. This was most likely due to the interaction of this custom with that of *lobola*, whereby a man had to toll out some fifteen or twenty head of cattle when he took a wife unto himself. Now to toll out so many cattle two or three times was a strain that few men could sustain, so, in practice, plurality of wives was a privilege of the chiefs and the wealthy only, most men in the tribe being monogamous. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Governor of Natal, observed this and stated in the report of the Natives Customs Commission of 1883: "I think it may be taken for granted that in most tribes the majority of men have only one wife."

The philosopher Schopenhauer and also Voltaire have stated that polygamy is the natural inclination of all men. That, in other words, monogamy is a forced condition due to divers circumstances. In this case, the circumstances that enforced monogamy were, for the most part, lack of means.

The dignity of man was measured by the number of his wives. It increased with every additional wife he took, and, strange to mention, the wife or wives encouraged their husband to take more wives.

Leviration was practised by the Bantu, and accordingly if a man died, his brother or some near relation of his married his widow, or, as they called it, "went into the house of the deceased" to "raise seed unto him." The children by this second marriage were considered as sons and daughters of the deceased. Such Hebraic touches are to be found in many Bantu customs.

Polygamy led to some difficulties in the inheritance of property, and especially in succession in the case of chiefs, but there were laws which attempted to tide over these difficulties.

As to inheritance, the eldest son by the head wife was recognised as his father's principal heir, and on the death of his father he became father of the family or families, and was in honour bound to provide for his mother, his father's other widows, his brothers and half-brothers, and his sisters and half-sisters.

Regarding succession in the case of the chiefs. The first wife of the chief was known as the wife of the Right House (or right hand house.) Her children were debarred from succession—at least among the Xosa tribes. Some time after his first marriage, the chief might take another wife, and she was called the wife of the Left House. Other wives might be taken, their offspring had, as a rule, no chance to the throne. The

official wife who could bear the heir to the throne was chosen by the councillors last of all, generally when the chief was advanced in years. She was called wife of the Great House. It thus often happened that when the chief died his successor was still quite a baby or otherwise too young to take the reins of government. Under such circumstances, a son of the Right House, that is, by the first wife, was elected regent, or if there was none, then a son of the Left House. This delay in preparing an heir was purposeful, being, in fact, a device to preserve the chief against an ambitious heir-apparent, who might early begin to "inquire into his father's years," to use the words of Ovid, plot against him, and murder him for the sake of succeeding to the throne. By debarring the sons by the first wife, this possibility was minimised. It often happened, however, that regents held office for such a long time that they aimed at becoming permanent chiefs. To this end, they employed all their arts and devices to endear themselves to the tribe, and when the rightful heir became of age such a regent would refuse to resign. In this way a split took place, the nation dividing between the two rivals.

As to the origin of polygamy, it is impossible to be dogmatic or to speak with any pretence to authority. Like many other Bantu customs it has its counterpart in the East, where it was practised by the Hebrews and is still practised by the Mohammedans.

Sir John Lubbock explains the custom of polygamy as follows: "In all tropical regions, girls become marriageable very young; their beauty is acquired early and soon fades, while men, on the contrary, retain their full powers much longer. Hence when love depends, not on similarity of tastes, pursuits, or sympathies, but entirely on external attractions, we cannot wonder that every man who is able to do so, provides himself with a succession of favourites."¹

Several factors might have worked together to elevate it into a national custom. One of these might have been that principle, which we have already mentioned as underlying the customs of the Bantu, and that is Utilitarianism. It is conceivable that, in such a state of society in which men were constantly occupied in war, there would be a preponderance of the female over the male population. Actuated by a desire to provide for all women of the tribe, and at the same time to

¹ *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 114.

battle against any possible chance of extinction by obeying that natural law—the propagation of his own species—it might have come to be thought patriotic, or at any rate, utilitarian, if a man took more than one wife. To a barbarous mind there would be nothing at all preposterous in that reasoning, for in polygamy would appear to him the salvation from extinction, nay, the increase of the tribe, and therefore its chance, not only of withstanding but also of conquering hostile tribes.

Ethnologically considered, polygamy in man is supposed to be an inheritance from some of his animal ancestors.

Status of Women.—Polygamy no doubt lowered the respect for women which monogamy suggests and begets or should do so, and perhaps this explains, in part at least, the lower social status of women of polygamous as compared with monogamous people, even making allowance for the differences of civilisation.

Through Western spectacles, the custom of polygamy is, of course, objectionable, as being opposed to the Christian principles and ideas of wedded love, and also because it is degrading to women, besides making family life impossible.

Now, it may seem paradoxical to state that polygamy among the Bantu discouraged lust, and it may be argued that lust suggested polygamy. It is, however, a fact that great fidelity—if the word is applicable—existed between a man and his wives, but as the ethics of polygamy are open to question, the most important thing to notice is that, where the practice exists in its pure form as it did among the Bantu, it is not without its advantages. In fact, for so barbarous a people as the Bantu were, it was perhaps the best thing; for observe, the harem-system of the East, more degrading to womanhood, and prostitution, that terrible scourge of most, if not all, civilised countries—these were entirely unknown to the Bantu. In consequence, these people were remarkably free from those destructive diseases which are concomitants of these evils, and it must be evident that the custom of polygamy, as practised, must have been itself a protection to tribal morality and a safeguard against disease and suffering.

Like Schopenhauer the philosopher, the Bantu thought that polygamy *is* the natural bent of human nature, and argue that—far better a professed and faithful polygamy, than an insincere monogamy which often spells extensive promiscuity, embracing not only polygamy but also polyandry, or in other words—infidelity and prostitution.

It is generally supposed that the condition of the Bantu women was an extremely unfavourable one, that the woman was downtrodden and ill-used, without a voice and without any rights, that, in short, she was reckoned among goods and chattels of her husband. This is an extreme view of the matter, and must be only partially true even for those tribes which were sunken low in barbarism.

There is not the slightest doubt that among the Bantu in general, women were not the happy themes of poetical essays as they are among civilised nations of modern times, nor were they the objects of chivalry as they were in mediæval times in Europe. No doubt also the women among so rude a people did not receive the same consideration as they do among the more advanced races, among whom even, however, they do not enjoy equal rights with men, but the idea of their having been repressed and reckoned with property is a confession of entire ignorance, or want of due appreciation, of the Bantu customs.

The Bantu women worked hard, perhaps they were over-worked. They built houses, tilled the soil, fetched water and wood besides attending to household duties. The while the man might be smoking, basking in the sun, and discussing the "latest topics" or, more plainly—gossiping. This state of affairs was a survival and a memorial of the earlier days, when men were pre-occupied with wars and the women had to keep the home fires burning. This is a very natural result of war, namely that the work which was formerly done by men, and supposed to be too difficult for women, necessarily falls to the latter when men go to war. The reader will remember illustrations of this truth in the present war. If such war is constant, as inter-tribal wars were, men's work not only becomes women's work, but it remains so from use. Women do the work, not from coercion but from choice, and if they do it better than men, as women do many things, it remains their special pride and monopoly. In peace, then, the Bantu men found some other occupations—such as hunting and trading to buy cattle.

That the above is actually the case, and not merely a fanciful explanation is seen when the individual Bantu tribes are considered and compared one with another. Among the more military tribes, such work as has been mentioned was done entirely by the women, and among the more peaceful, men and women worked together in each case.

The law of the Bantu people not only made no difference

between males and females, but it also afforded greater protection to the latter, injuries to them being more seriously punished. In domestic affairs, the wife took the first place.

To the professions also, if they may be so called—the practice of physic, magic and divination—women were as eligible as men, and among all, there were professions which it was the exclusive privilege of women to practise.

Every institution among men had its counterpart among women. In some tribes, such as the Mangbetu and the Balolo, the women even sat in councils and took part in national deliberations. Among others again, such as the Balonda, Banyai, and Bambari, women succeeded to supreme chieftainship.

In all Bantu tribes, love and respect for mothers is held up to young men as one of the highest virtues, and a boy who has disrespected his mother does not hope for much peace in this world or the next, for Nemesis will dog his footsteps.

CHAPTER X

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—(continued)

1. BANTU SOCIAL SYSTEM

WE may now shortly review the Bantu social system. "The problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before. This is the fundamental problem of which the *social contract* provides the solution." So wrote Jean Jacques Rousseau in his *Social Contract*, Book I., chap. vi., and the words serve our purpose so well in the review of the Bantu social polity that we beg to be allowed to cite two more passages.

"The solution is the total alienation of each associate, together with all his rights, to the whole community; for, in the first place, as each gives himself absolutely, the conditions are the same for all; and this being so, no one has any interest in making them burdensome to others. . . .

.....
"Each of the Bantu puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and in their corporate capacity they recognise each member as an indivisible part of the whole" (chap. ix.).

Instead of destroying natural inequality, the fundamental compact substitutes for such physical inequality as Nature may have set up between men an equality that is moral and legitimate, so that men who may be unequal in strength or intelligence become every one equal by convention and legal right.

Anyone acquainted with the Bantu social state will be struck by its approximation to Rousseau's conception of the ideal social compact. Anyone unacquainted with the Bantu or their

social organisation, as represented by a tribe, will get a good idea of it if he imagines it identical with Rousseau's conception.

The tribal communism had, of course, many drawbacks, especially when looked at through the spectacles of Western civilisation, but it had also its advantages.

Of the disadvantages may be mentioned the limited utilitarianism—the narrow sympathies extending no further than the tribe. As a result of this, we have seen how the morality was tribal. Injuries, misdeeds, and deceits outside the tribe were not only connived at, but tacitly, or in some cases expressly, encouraged.

The other drawback which may be mentioned was the stereotypy to which the tribal communism doomed the entire tribe *en bloc*. For the moral and intellectual conduct of all members of the tribe was regulated by the prevailing moral and intellectual ideas of the time. They were expected to adopt the current notions of the day, "to remain in the middle state, neither very foolish nor very able, neither very virtuous nor very vicious, but slumbering on in a peaceful mediocrity, adopting without much difficulty the current opinion of the day, making no inquiry, exciting no scandal, causing no wonder, just holding themselves on a level with their generation, and noiselessly conforming to the standard of morals and of knowledge common to the age" *and tribe* "in which they lived. In this way possible geniuses were held down by tradition and ancient customs."

Bantu communism was not without its advantages. As we have mentioned elsewhere, land was a common property, no individual titles existing. Tribal communism was also a guardian and protector to tribal morality. Its advantages may be thus summarised from Mr. D. Kidd's *Kaffir Socialism*, pp. 34–37. Complaints, party systems, fighting for franchise, wars of Capital *versus* Labour, and passive resisters were entirely unknown. The unselfishness of the people was surprising. Among them there existed fairly uniform prosperity and rare social harmony. Paupers were unknown. The system controlled, very efficiently, the relation of sexes, and in the words of Mr. Kidd, "The unblushing abuses we tolerate in Piccadilly or Regent Street could never exist under Kafir rule."

The advantages of Bantu social system are thus summed up by Mr. Maurice Evans in his book, *Black and White in South States*, p. 16: "The extremes of poverty and wealth, hardship

and soul-destroying luxury, prostitution, physical degeneration, group war, social unrest, and nervous prostration from suicidal competition and emulation are unknown to our simpler and often happier brethren."

2. ETIQUETTE

There is prevalent a general idea that barbarous or savage peoples have at least one advantage over civilised communities—namely, that of freedom from forms, and perfect liberty of conduct. It is believed, in short, that an uncivilised person is a natural person—limited and hampered by no social or moral laws, and that his actions are a true expression of his mind. There can, however, be nothing further from the fact than such an idea. The barbarian is as unnatural as the most polished civilian, and has not a jot of liberty more. His actions are controlled by iron reins of tradition, his conduct is constrained by rigid custom. His very words are often a formula. Some words may be taboo to one sex, as for instance in the custom of *uku-hlonipa* (or to honour) among Xosa-Zulu peoples, whereby a woman might not mention the name of her father-in-law.

The cultivation of good manners was greatly encouraged among the Bantu, and every mother took the greatest pains in bringing up her children in accordance with the accepted laws of good breeding and politeness. These laws differed in no particular from the accepted rules of etiquette of to-day—"Il me semble que l'esprit de politesse est un certaine attention à faire que par nos paroles et nos manières les autres soient contents de nous et d'eux-mêmes" (I consider the spirit of politeness to be that which will so govern our behaviour, that by our words and actions others may be pleased with us and with themselves). So said Montesquieu, and his words express the view of the Bantu, whose language is full of titles of courtesy, and among whom the "giving of place to others" was part of the everyday social life. Various ceremonies, forms and formularies—many of them apparently meaningless, and flourishing side by side with other forms and ceremonies to which they seemed opposed—were strictly observed in the several Bantu nationalities. Such inconsistencies are of course to be found even amongst the more advanced races of mankind.

The art of pleasing was particularly cultivated by people of rank, in whom, therefore, it could not possibly be mistaken for servility.

Greeting among the Bantu was an important ceremonial and sign of respect. The inferior was expected to recognise his superior, and the visitor his host. With the latter, in either case, rested the decision of shaking hands. Equals might do as they chose, but shaking hands was very popular with all classes.

The Bantu have no time-denoting words of greeting like good-morning, good-afternoon, or good-night. The Bechuana-Basuto people say *dumela*, a word meaning hail, or hail to you; literally—agree, believe or consent (*optative*). The Xosas say *Bota*, and the Zulus *Sakubona*, that is, "I see you."

At parting, phrases like *Tsamaea sentle* (farewell), and *Sala-Sentle* (rest in peace), are used by the Bechuana-Basuto people, and *Hamba Kahle* and *Sala kahle*, with same meanings as above, are used by the Xosa-Zulu people.

It was considered rude for any person to remain standing in the presence of his superior, or of the chief. He should sit down at a respectable distance, until or unless told to do otherwise.

It was bad form to cast one's shadow over a person of higher social standing.

If you gave anybody food or drink, custom demanded that you should eat or drink a little of it first before handing it over to the stranger. In the case of a drink, this might be done by directly applying the lips to the containing vessel, or, better still, by transferring a little of the contents into a second vessel, taking this, and turning the vessel upside down to show that it was empty. This was, originally, a guarantee of the wholesomeness of the food, and a protection against poisoning.

When a person was given food, or anything whatsoever, good manners required that he should receive it with both hands, regardless of its size. To use one hand was extremely bad form, and was regarded as indicative of low birth and a discontented nature. The bimanual mode of receiving was, in fact, an expression of thanks in itself, and the word "thanks" might be omitted, should the recipient desire to do so. If, however, he chose to express his thankfulness verbally, he generally did so after partaking of the food, and shortly before going away. If the food given him was meat, say mutton or beef, he should, according to custom, say, "May your sheep (or

cattle, as the case may be) abound!" adding, at the same time, "May your liberality increase!"

If anybody killed a sheep, a goat, or an ox (for each one was his own butcher), he was expected to share some of it with his near neighbours. The internals (*dirello*) were generally first cooked, and a boy sent round to invite the neighbours to come and share. Any passer-by could come forward and share the meat. If, however, he was too late, he was shown the greasy dishes, upon which he exclaimed with grace: "If I have seen the fat, I have also partaken of the meat." Each guest, after demolishing his share, exclaimed, by way of thanks to his host, "May your animals multiply!"

According to usage, everybody employed the words *father* and *mother* in talking to elderly people of his or her class, or of higher social status. Rudeness to seniors brought the offender before the chief, who ordered castigation, or the wronged party might take the law into his hands.

Spitting in anybody's presence was considered ill-manners; but purely reflex actions, like sneezing, coughing, and even belching were not objected to.

Knocking at the door was unknown among Bantu, perhaps because they had no doors. But a visitor, without giving the slightest indication of his approach, walked straight into his neighbour's house, and did not wait to be asked to take a seat, or rather to sit down, for, as often as not, there were no seats in the hut. If he arrived when the family were at "table," that is to say, eating (tables being a modern introduction), the visitor expected to be asked to join in the pleasant occupation, and was never disappointed.

If you got a visit extending over some days from anyone of equal or superior rank to yourself, custom demanded that you should kill a sheep or a goat in his honour. The flesh was his, and he could, and generally did, take it away with him on departing, not, however, without leaving some for his host, for, as the Bechuana proverb goes, "*Mocoo Kgomo gase lesilo*," that is, "He is an ill guest that does not drink to his host."

When a visitor arrived from another village or part of the country, the first thing the host did, after exchanging greetings with him, was to tell him the latest news he was acquainted with, and then the visitor did the same. Newspapers being unknown among the primitive Bantu, this was the only way intelligence was circulated. The weather was generally the chief topic of

comment. A visitor who was well acquainted with the happenings and the people of consequence in his village stood the best chance of being welcomed wherever he went. He was talked of as "a man of understanding" and one "acquainted with the deeds of men." Any new information he had imparted was passed on to the second, third, fourth parties, and so on, the authority being given in each case.

The Bantu were great smokers and snuff-takers. It was not against good manners to ask anybody, known or unknown, for tobacco or snuff. The more the snuff caused a flowing of tears by reflexly stimulating the lachrymal glands, the greater was the pleasure of taking it experienced.

Flattery, profuse and ridiculous, was due to the chief. At his appearance he was received with extravagant acclamations, and praised to the skies by his *indunas* or immediate attendants. Bayete! Bayete! Great King, All Ruler, Highest Commander, Great Elephant! Son of a Lion! Thou Black One! Terrible Bull! Great Conqueror, and so on. Even the attributes of God were added: King of Kings! Ruler of Heaven and Earth! Father of all People! Everybody must, of course, sit in the presence of the chief. A soldier might, however, stand, make a mock rush at the chief, as if he were going to stab him to death. At every word the chief spoke all his soldiers present would shout: "Thou hast spoken! Thou wise son!" and then, in a jabber, the tympanitic titles were repeated.

A striking example of this is told of Moselekatse, ruler of the Matabele. A missionary was engrossed in preaching to that chief and his warriors, when Moselekatse thought he would put in a word. The moment he uttered a word differing from the missionary doctrine, his hundreds of warriors began extravagantly congratulating him for his wisdom and singing his praises. The sanctity of the gathering was, for the time, exchanged for a military chaos.

When anyone was called by the chief, or a boy by his senior, he was expected to run, or make a pretence of running, even supposing in so doing he actually advanced slower than he would by walking fast.

Among the Xosa-Zulu people there was a peculiar custom known as *uku-hlonipa*. According to this a female could not mention the name of her father-in-law, or any name that sounded like it. Again, she could not look into the face of her

son-in-law. If she met him in the road, she was expected either to turn back or hide her face.

It was considered impertinent if a child looked anybody straight in the face, or any person his senior.

Jurisprudence.—The Bantu have a keen sense of law and justice. Their language has ample judicial expressions equivalent to English ones—*e.g.* judge, law, advocate, plaintiff, defendant, affidavit, and so forth.

In their law, however, they made no distinction between civil and criminal offences.

The Bantu Court-house was represented by the Chief's Assembly Yard, called "Khotla." Here men assembled every day to see if there was any news of importance. If any matter affecting the interests of the tribe cropped up, a "town crier" got on to the top of a tree or house, shortly before bedtime, and, shouting at the top of his voice, invited all men to assemble in the Khotla at dawn of the following day. Such a gathering was called Pico or Pitso, literally "a call." If any regiments were required, the town crier gave them notice in the same manner. As a rule the hearing of cases by the chief was generally done in the afternoon. All men could attend the court.

If a person was accused, his business was to clear himself of the accusation. The plaintiff was not required to prove his charge. It was always taken for granted as *bona fide*, and he would have been much dismayed if he was required to prove his charge. In fact, such a step would suggest in his mind that justice had miscarried from the outset.

Any man was at liberty to express his views on the case before the court, but, in practice, the councillors and elderly men—the recognised authorities on customary law—spoke or cross-questioned the witnesses. They also formed the jury on whose opinion the chief generally based his verdict. Anyone had a perfect and recognised right to criticise or air his views if he thought justice was miscarrying. This was especially the case among the Bechuana.

Among many Bantu tribes far north, women could come to the court and take part in the proceedings if they so elected.

The Bantu had not, and even now have not got, such institutions as prisons, reformatories, hospitals, and asylums. Owing to the want of prisons, the punishment of the guilty was limited to thrashing, fines, and death. There were also no policemen—

every member of the tribe taking that duty upon himself for the good of the tribe. Everything in fact was done on this social basis. Collective action was the ruling principle, and, in many instances, there was collective responsibility and collective punishment. Thus, if, say, an ox was stolen, and it was proved beyond doubt that it had finally disappeared near any village, the petty or sub-chief of that village and all his people were held responsible for the theft. If the sub-chief suspected a certain sector of his village, he could, in turn, hold the inhabitants of that quarter collectively responsible, and call upon the headman, as the representative, to account.

“ If the community sins, its guilt is much more than the sum of the offences committed by its members ; the crime is a corporate act, and extends in its consequences to many more persons than have shared in its actual perpetration. If, on the other hand, the individual is conspicuously guilty, it is his children, his kinsfolk, his tribesmen, or his fellow citizens who suffer with him and sometimes for him.”¹

Theft was punishable by a fine, besides the restitution of the stolen property to the original owner. In case the stolen goods could not be recovered, their value was taken instead. As in the Roman law of “ Twelve Tables,” thieves were divided into manifest, *i.e.* those caught in the act ; and non-manifest—when not so caught. The former could be killed on the spot.

False witness was punishable by a fine, varying in amount according to the gravity of the case in which such witness was given and the extent to which it had influenced judgment. As a rule, any lie told to the chief was punishable by a heavy fine and by thrashing.

Adultery.—A man who had committed such an offence was often punished by death, or by a heavy fine, with thrashing, varying according to the relative positions of the man and woman. If the man was of a lower social standing, death would be the punishment meted out to him, and if of higher social status a fine.

Treason and desertion were at all time visited with the maximum penalty of the law—death.

Murder.—The punishment for this varied according to the time which had elapsed between the committal of the offence and the date of trial. Anyone could kill a murderer on the spot and receive the thanks of the chief. If, however, a consider-

¹ Maine's *Ancient Law*, chap. v.

able time had elapsed before the proof of murder was forthcoming, the murderer was merely fined.

Rape was considered a very grave offence, and was punishable by death. More rarely a heavy fine was imposed in cases of great disparity of social standing.

Assaults on older, not necessarily elderly people, were punishable by a sound thrashing in public.

Disobedience to a petty chief, a councillor, or a headman, was punishable by a thrashing, a fine, or both.

Absentees from regiments without permission from the "captain" were punished by a fine.

Witchcraft was considered a grave anti-social practice, but though there were always people, mostly old women, who were believed to be witches, they could not be brought to trial until actually accused of some harm, such as killing or poisoning babies. In that case they were generally sentenced to death, or to trial by ordeal, which was but another road to the same end—death. The ordeal might consist of the drinking of some virulent poison, the immersing of a hand in boiling water, or the holding of a glowing ember in the hand. The natural effect of these physical or chemical substances was a conclusive proof of guilt.

Trial by ordeal was a device for extorting confession of the crime of which a person was accused.

Recipes.—If you had made any mistake, or committed any offence for which you feared you would be punished, there was a sure and easy way of escaping the punishment. All that was necessary was to put a small pebble into the mouth, and swallow it while confessing the mistake.

If you were journeying and felt hungry, you could make sure of finding food ready at your arrival by merely putting a stone between the branches of a tree.

If, by any chance, you were not very good at whistling, you could easily and immediately acquire skill and proficiency by going into the cattle-pen, waiting till a cow makes water (micturates), receiving the water (urine) into your hands, and drinking heartily, when straightway you became an expert whistler.

If you thought anybody too rich, and you wished him poor, you could easily attain that end by letting a dog pass between his legs.

Should you desire your father's death, for any reason whatsoever, there was no occasion to shed blood. Patricide was easily

committed by merely clasping the hands behind the head, or again by using the left hand for eating.

You could get anything you desired, whatsoever it be, by merely watching the stars of an evening, and making your wish on seeing a shooting star.

You could change your sex as many times as you liked by merely allowing yourself to be bitten by a crab each time.

If for any reason you were tired of humanity—that is of being a human being—there was an easy way of becoming a monkey. All that was necessary was to sit with your back to the fire, when immediately “phylogenetic involution” would take place.

Natural Philosophy.—Of this the Bantu had not the least knowledge, and therefore natural phenomena were explained on the crudest hypotheses, some of which, strangely enough, resembled the Jewish myths. Thus they have the Mosaic myth about the rainbow having something to do with an undertaking between God and man. Genesis, chap. ix., verses 13, 15—“I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. . . .

“And I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.”

Earth and heaven, the Bantu believed to be two more or less flat creations, which stretched out almost, but not quite, to infinity (in fact such a thing as infinitude was not understood by them). The two discs, then, heaven and earth, were very expansive, but had their limits. These limits were never seen by man, and, so the story goes, it was the greatest sin to attempt to see them, wherefore one fine man, in trying to fathom the hidden mysteries, fell right over the abysmal edge where the earth ends, and is still falling to this day. The two large discs, it may be explained, were supported in mid ether.

Of the sun there was more than one theory. One was that the setting of the sun was its death and the next rising sun was new, the other was that the sun after setting in the west travelled below the earth eastwards, there to rise again the following day.

Of the moon, there was a uniformly accepted statement that dark specks and streaks in it represented a man and a tree. This man had gone out cutting wood on Sunday, and was immediately translated, for punishment, and placed in the moon to remind his brethren of the consequence of desecrating the Sabbath Day. This myth can obviously be no older than the

advent of missionaries, for before then the Bantu knew no Sabbath.

The Bantu had, and still have, names for various celestial bodies—stars and constellations and the Zodiac. Thus they have their own words for Mars, Venus, and the Milky Way (Galaxy), about which last they had also a mythological legend somewhat corresponding to the classical one, that Juno, while suckling Mercury or Hercules, scattered milk across the sky.

Lightning was supposed to be due to a bird which had its nest somewhere in the sky. During lightning this bird came down, and whatever it lighted on took fire. The witch-doctors claimed to have captured other such birds, and to be able to capture as many as they chose and to work mischief with them if they so elected.

As a race, the Bantu were remarkable for that mental torpor, that self-complacency, that uninitiativeness and carelessness of futurity which is so characteristic of ignorant people of all nations and classes. The average Muntu (pl. Bantu) was perfectly satisfied to speak, to act, and to live as his father and grandfather had done before him.

CHAPTER XI

MORAL CONDUCT

“Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me; you would seem to know my stops; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery; you would sound my lowest note to the top of my compass; and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ; yet cannot you make it speak. S’blood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.”—SHAKESPEARE.

HAVING made an examination of the manners and customs of the Bantu, we may now make a brief inquiry into that of which they are an expression, namely, the moral character. We are, however, brought face to face with an initial difficulty, for from all sides come loud condemnations, which state that the Bantu in common with other Negroes are, among other things, cruel, devoid of the virtues of truth and honesty, possessed of strong animal passions and extremely lustful, hopelessly lazy, irresponsible as children, shameless and immodest. Some state them immoral, others declare that they are unmoral. On the other hand there are a few others who lay claim to a more thorough acquaintance with the Bantu, and who deny these sweeping denunciations, and in fact adopt quite the opposite attitude. It may be enough if we can show how far these conflicting opinions and judgments on the character and morals of the Bantu are warrantable or unwarrantable.

The reasons for the conflicting opinions are numerous. Quite often each observer has recorded without bias his impressions, and yet these are diametrically opposed to that of another observer equally earnest and impartial.

More frequently, writers describe the worst phases or the worst specimens of African life and compare it, to its disadvantage, with the noblest ideals of European society. This

naturally means a vitiation of the facts. It is a relative misrepresentation, a disproportionate picture, and is as far from the truth as it would be to go into the slums of any European city and describe the inhabitants of those quarters as representing the nation. Imagine, reader, a man or woman taken from the Cowcaddens or Gallowgate in Glasgow, or the Grass-market in Edinburgh, and shown to the world as a representative and type of the Glasgow or Edinburgh citizens.

Then others, fewer indeed, go to the other extreme and take the exceptional type of the African, a man perhaps who has had better chances for development than his fellows, and represent him as the average specimen of the people, thus, in case of the Bantu, attributing to the race some of the finer senses which are only a product of civilisation.

The commonest cause of misrepresentation, however, is the entire inability of the foreigner to understand the African's character. As Joseph Thomson, one of the modern English explorers of Central Africa, says in his book, *To the Central African Lakes and Back*, pp. 139, 328: "It is seldom that the geographical explorer can form just conceptions of the manners or customs of a native tribe, or of their moral character, travelling, as he generally does, straight through the country, and meeting the natives but a short time, when under the influence of fear and suspicion of the great man. It can only be by a prolonged residence in the district and a thorough command of the language that a person is entitled to speak with the confidence of certain knowledge. The Central Africans have not had this justice done to them, and till such justice is done we have little right to draw very definite conclusions about the Negro mind. To me it seems that most travellers, under the influence of fevers and the thousand troubles attendant on African travelling, have much maligned and unjustly abused the natives, and that few people have studied them with unprejudiced and unbiassed minds.

"We have no right as yet to come to rigid conclusions of the character of the Negro, and what his capacity for improvement may be. Travellers who have made such sweeping denunciations of the Negro have seen him as degraded from ages of exposure to the curse of slavery, ever fighting like a wild beast for his very existence—his hand against every man, and every man's against him. . . . May I not also point to the Wawahili as a further argument of the improbability of the

Negro? Their intelligence is beyond question and show traits of honesty and faithfulness that would reflect credit on any people, whether civilised or uncivilised."

If a traveller who has come into contact with the people is often far wrong in understanding their customs and estimating their character, if he has no right to come to rigid conclusions about their morals, how much more must a person who hears the commonly circulated, and often grossly exaggerated reports be on his guard against being an authority and judge on the questions of morals of alien races and nationalities, and especially primitive peoples. One should indeed not receive with unquestioning credence the first, second, or even third statement about the morals of a foreign nation, and draw conclusions from these *ex parte* statements. Such statements, often incorrect either from hurried and wrong observations or from prejudice and imperfect education, are, of course, extremely harmful, teeming, as they often are, with terms of unqualified abuse. Where black and white live cheek-by-jowl, such slander-mongering is responsible for a great part of race-conflict.

The charges need not be discredited entirely, for there is sometimes much truth in them, but they should always be taken "*cum grano salis*."

It is the rule also that people of one nation measure the moral character of every other nation, not by any standard recognised by the world, and representative of all nationalities—civilised and uncivilised—not by a common measure, but by their own ethical standard. In this way, things, facts, and factors, appear distorted, being viewed from a sharp angle and without the least attempt at an historical perspective.

"Where international morality is in question, the average ethical teacher finds himself quite beyond his depth. His criticisms and his judgments are beside the mark because they are based upon a single code. He is bound to the standards of his nation or his own particular school, while it usually happens that the nations criticised are following very different standards."¹

And so it is, in the question we are now considering. The Bantu people have their own moral code which differs very much from those of other nations. Their ethical beliefs alone guide their conduct and behaviour, and their beliefs are peculiar

¹ *Journal of International Ethics*.

to them only, as with every other nation the prevailing ethical beliefs are restricted to that nation, and virtue or vice is judged according as the practices are in conformity with or opposed to the beliefs.

The difference between the ethical beliefs of the Bantu and Europeans has forced itself into the notice of many people who have come into intimate contact with them, thus Mr. Maurice Evans, a great authority on the relations of the black and the white races, says in p. 13 of his interesting book, *Black and White in the Southern States*: "To know a race, one must live with them, and even then, many of those whose whole life has been spent among a primitive people, and who thought they understood, will find, as many South Africans have done, that there are depths they never plumbed, and at some supreme moment, deep-seated hidden race tendencies become apparent, that make them wonder whether, after all, their knowledge is only of the surface, and wonder whether any white man will ever be able to understand the workings of the black man's mind and spirit." Very much the same view is expressed by H. Drummond, another Central African explorer, in the words contained in p. 57 of his book, *Tropical Africa*: "I often wished I could get inside an African for an afternoon, and just see how he looked at things; for I am sure our worlds are as different as the colour of our skin."

General Smuts, the famous Boer leader, now a great British soldier, in his Savoy speech in London, expressed in one short sentence all that is conveyed in the last two quotations. The general said, whatever he meant to imply: "Black and white are not only different in colour, but in their soul also."

We would not be understood as trying to represent the Bantu as a fine, virtuous race, for there can be nothing further from our mind. All we are concerned with is the inquiry after truth, and the ways and means of arriving at that truth, and when we have arrived there, to state it, be it pleasant or unpleasant. Lest it should appear that the labouring of a difference in ethical beliefs and moral code was a plea for the overlooking of certain shortcomings among the Bantu, it may be stated that the same attitude would be assumed in a consideration, say, of the mutual persecutions of the Catholics and the Protestants in the Middle Ages, and that their behaviour in visiting each other with torture and barbarous death was not due, so far as we can see, to any particular moral obliquity or inherent

cruelty, but was actuated solely by the best intentions and guided by conscience, for the more each party killed, the more faithfully they thought they were serving a good and godly cause. But we do not on that account deny that much blood was shed by the Church.

As to the matter of conscience, the existence of which, in the primitive Bantu, some people doubt, or pretend to doubt, it may be stated that the lowest members of the race have a conscience which is very much alive. Conscience is, of course, both qualitative and quantitative, inconstant and mutable, depending, as it does, on environment, prevailing beliefs, and therefore nationality. Hence the words of H. Buckle in the *History of Civilisation in England*, p. 136: "Now, it requires but a superficial acquaintance with history to be aware that the standard of morals is constantly changing, and that it is never precisely the same even in the most similar countries, or in two successive generations in the same country. The opinions which are popular in any nations vary in many respects almost from year to year; and what in one period is attacked as a paradox or a heresy, is in another period welcomed as a sober truth, which, however, in its turn is replaced by some subsequent novelty. This extreme mutability in the ordinary standard of human actions shows that the conditions on which the standard depends must themselves be very mutable, and those conditions, whatever they may be, are evidently the originators of the moral and intellectual conduct of the great average of mankind."

It follows, then, that in a race just in the transition stage, emerging from barbarism and paganism and as yet only on the threshold of civilisation and Christianity, the whole moral outlook must be undergoing great changes. The new standards and opinions come into direct conflict with the old at every turn, and thus have their force and influence decreased, and in some cases neutralised completely. The race may be said to be on probation in these thaumaturgic things called civilisation and Christianity, whose precepts they must accept, and whose moral standards they must adopt. But adopting these standards or not, Bantu have a conscience—Christian or tribal as the case may be. It is there, that still small voice—for what else can be the "second heart," checking impulsive actions, other than the restraining voice of conscience? what that self-lashing of the heart (*go-ikoatlhæa*), unassociated with

material ends, other than penitence and remorse, the lash of conscience which follows disrespect to it ?

Moreover, the great philosophers tell us that this thing—conscience—is possessed by all men and women. “Conscience,” says Kant, “is not a thing to be acquired, and it is not a duty to acquire it ; but every man, ~~as a moral being, has it originally within him.~~”¹ *sets it in society or in a psychopath.*

Further, what a Muntu (pl. Bantu) calls his “second heart” corresponds in every way to Butler’s definition and explanation of conscience, namely—“a moral approving and disapproving faculty ; that principle by which we survey, and either approve or disapprove our own heart, temper, and actions.”²

Now, in our inquiry into the moral ideas of the Bantu, it is almost superfluous to warn the reader not to expect to form any conception of those moral ideas from this chapter. Rather must he deduce that for himself from the picture we have put before him, from the Manners and Customs of the Bantu, from their Religious Beliefs, from their system of government, their social life, their laws, their traditions ; in fine, from all allusions and references, from every aspect of Bantu life contained in this work ; for it is from such material, rather than from a chapter specifically on that head, that the moral ideas of a people can be gauged, just as, where it is possible, in going among a people, we get to know them, not so much by what they claim to be, or are credited with, as, rather, by observing their everyday life, their words, their beliefs, their actions and their government. These several things are a truer expression of the moral undercurrent, than verbal claims and verbal accusations. This chapter, therefore, can be nothing more than an analysis of what the reader has already had put before him.

The moral ideas of the Bantu differ in no essential feature from the moral ideas current among the most civilised nations of Europe, or from any other nations, and that this should be so is only in accordance with the law now well established, and upon which moralists are agreed, namely, that moral ideas are universal. They are found among all races of man at all times, and in all stages of civilisation. So much so is this the case that they are often spoken of as *intuitive*, and some believe them to be placed in man—every man and woman—by the Creator. Further, it is said that no moral ideas current among

¹ Kant’s *Metaphysical Elements of Ethics*.

² Butler’s *Sermons and Dissertations on the Nature of Virtue*.

the most civilised people of to-day are new, but on the other hand, they have been equally known to the ancients and to primitive people of all nations. Even Christianity which, if nothing else is certainly a fine System of Moral Laws—even it, however, has given nothing new to the world ; has taught no truth previously unknown, but on the other hand, has based its moral teachings on the moral laws of ancient and heathen nations.

“ To do good to others ; to sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes, to love your neighbour as yourself, to forgive your enemies ; to restrain your passions ; to honour your parents ; to respect those who are set over you ;—these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals ; but they have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies, and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce.”¹

As the current moral ideas were to be found among the ancients, so surely are they found among the primitive Bantu. Love, Obedience, Justice, Truthfulness, Benevolence, Forgiveness, Purity, Temperance, Humility, Honour, Industry, Fidelity, Friendship, Patriotism, etc., all these and other “ First Principles ” of moral law were and are recognised by the Bantu. In so far as the cognition of these moral ideas is concerned, they had arrived spontaneously or intuitively where other nations—civilised or uncivilised—had arrived. If this is true, how, then, comes in the “ different moral code ” ? How do we reconcile this with the theory of “ different ethical beliefs,” of the Bantu from those of other nations, and wherein comes the “ difference of spiritual worlds ” and the “ difference of souls ” ?

The difference in the moral notions of nationalities is one rather of degree than of kind. The first principles, the maxims are the same in a backward as in a civilised race. In the former, however, they are coarse and undefined. The work of civilisation is to refine and define, to purge and to purify these notions, and also to give them a fuller application. “ Moral advance consists in improved interpretation, the ever-widening application of the primary maxim ” (J. Morley). “ Moral progress consists in giving a grander sweep to the application of tenets which the old world knew, not in finding new tenets out ” (H. T. Buckle).

Although a primitive people like the Bantu, therefore, may

¹ Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*.

have the same moral maxims as a civilised nation, yet those maxims are not only hazy and undefined, but they have, for that reason, only a limited application; their realisation in conduct is but limited and localised.

The question whether moral obligations are primarily derived from *Utility* and consultation of convenience, from *Authority*, from Tradition, or from Revelation and *Intuition*, need not here concern us. It is enough if we have ascertained and shown that the ideas of Rightness or Wrongness of an action, in the Bantu, did not find a wide application.

Even the utilitarianism which we have observed among the Bantu, is as a matter of fact narrow. It contravenes Kant's ethical maxim, viz. "Act from a maxim at all times fit for law universal." It did not seek "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," but it sought the greatest happiness of the greatest number *in the tribe*. It was tribal, not general. It was local, not universal. As such, therefore, it must be transitory.

There was something in the Bantu, which savoured of Epicureanism, or even Hedonism—if the tribe be imagined as an individual.

According to Kant, "the *Epicurean* said: 'To be conscious that one's maxims lead to happiness is virtue,' as distinguished from the *Stoic* who said: 'To be conscious of one's virtue is happiness.' With the former, *Prudence* was equivalent to morality, with the latter who chose a higher designation for virtue, morality alone was true wisdom."¹

Now, it is to be feared that like the Epicurean, the Bantu too often confused Happiness with Virtue, and Pleasure and Prudence with Good, in practice; nay, it would seem that in practice, some of them have thought that "A good which was not their good, in part, was no good at all." These, however, are but differences in the application of principles which are themselves alike, and we close the chapter with the maxim we have emphasised all along in the *analysis*, the maxim of ancient and modern philosophers: "The same general Moral Principles are common to all men and differ only in their details of application to particular cases" (Epictetus).

¹ Kant's *Theory of Ethics*, p. 300.

CHAPTER XII

THE BANTU LANGUAGE

THE languages spoken by the Bantu Negroes are remarkable for their homogeneity and uniformity of construction, especially when compared with the bewildering confusion of tongues which exists among the Negroes of West Africa, where contiguous countries, or even villages, speak languages between which no possible connection can be made out. This is rendered the more remarkable by the fact that true Negroes are much more uniform in features than are the Bantu.

“ It may be accepted as a fact that all the languages spoken in Africa, south of the equator, with the exception of the Hottentot-Bushmen *enclaves*, belong to one great family, and that they all derive from one mother speech. This fact may be asserted with the same degree of confidence with which it is asserted with regard to the Indo-European and Semitic families. Moreover, it must be admitted generally that the tribes who speak these languages are not Negro in the strict sense of that word, and that it is inaccurate to call them so.”¹

The Bantu languages, then, are sisters descended from one common or parent stock about 3000 years ago. As a result of their close interrelation, a Mucoana (pl. = Bechuana) has no difficulty in understanding a Mosuto (pl. = Basuto) (*vice versa*), a Zulu, a Xosa (*vice versa*); and the two former soon understand the two latter (*vice versa*) and all can soon learn any other Bantu language—Swahili or Se-Ganda (language of Uganda), for instance—far sooner than would, say, a Frenchman or a Dutchman.

Etymologically, the Bantu languages are agglutinative in construction; that is, nouns are declined by affixes. Since these affixes are put before the declined word, and are therefore

¹ R. N. Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa*, ii. 289.

prefixes, the language is prefix pronominal, the prefixes being termed inflectors or pronominal prefixes.

	Singular.	Plural.
English	Man (person).	Men.
Xosa	Um-tu.	Aba-ntu.
Zulu	Umu-ntu.	Aba-ntu.
Sechuana	Mo-tho.	Ba-tho.
Sesuto	Mo-tho.	Ba-tho.
Swahili	M-tu.	Wa-tu.
Herero	Umu-ndu.	Ova-ndu.
Ovambo	Um-tu.	O'an-tu.

The languages are, further, sexless or non-sex denoting, as there is no grammatical indication or regard to sexual gender in pronouns.

But neuter gender is distinguished. Further, the sex may be indicated by the termination of an adjective in some cases.

Example :—

English	A black horse.
Sechuana	Pitse e ncho.
English	A black mare.
Sechuana	Pitse e choana.

Bantu languages are alliterative, and this is their characteristic and peculiar feature to which they owe much of their mellowness. This alliterative agreement is the base and groundwork upon which the grammar of each sentence depends. Each pronoun, each adjective, and each verb repeats and assimilates the prefix of the noun to which it relates, qualifies, or agrees with, as the case may be.

Example :—

English	People who have been here, have gone.
Sechuana	Batho ba bane bale fa ba tsamaile.
Xosa	A bantu a babe ba lapa ba hambile.
	= People p-ho p-ave p-een p-ere p-ave gone.

The roots of the words remain practically unchanged and unchangeable except here and there in the terminal vowel, for example, in nouns in the ablative case.

Example :—

	Nominative.	Ablative.
English	Person.	To the person.
Sechuana	Motho.	Moth-ung.
Xosa	Umtu.	Um-twini.

Of pronominal prefixes, there are, on the average, twelve classes, and according as a nominative falls into one or other of these, its pronouns, adjectives, and verb take that class of pronominal prefix. The origin of the classes cannot be definitely ascertained, but seems to have been primarily to express different ideas as of animate and inanimate objects, size, and abstract qualities.

The Bantu languages are further remarkable in that almost all the words end in vowels as in Italian. The few that are an exception to this rule end in the ringing “ ñ ” or “ ng,” which has the effect more of a vowel than a consonant on the ear.

Such a language—for we may consider the Bantu languages as dialects of one original tongue—as we have briefly considered is obviously governed by definite and systematic philosophical principles. Its intricacy combined with regularity of structure is to be found in but few languages. The grammatical alliteration and vowel termination occurring in the language endow it with a melliflence—a beauty and harmony of euphonic sound hardly to be equalled and never surpassed. For its wealth, pliability, adaptability, susceptibility to expansion—for its succinctness, its spirit, its vigour and persuasive ring—it is equally remarkable. Such, briefly, is the wonderful language talked by these people, in other respects unevolved and very low in the social scale. So striking in this disparity that it almost seems they left all else to develop one thing only—their language.

But rich as the Bantu language is, it cannot justly be expected to contain native expressions of such objects and abstract ideas as are the product of high intellectual evolution of a nation. Or, as Professor Max Müller says: “ There never was an independent array of determinate conceptions waiting to be matched with an independent array of articulate sounds. As a matter of fact, we never meet with articulate sounds except as wedded to determinate ideas ; nor do we ever meet with determinate

ideas except as bodied forth in articulate sounds.”¹ Consequently, we find that when we get beyond ordinary concrete objects, and the commonest abstract ideas, when we border on the regions of applied science, physical and psychical phenomena; beyond the ordinary appliances, forces, and ideations, both primary and derivative, then the Bantu language has to depend entirely upon its affiliative or naturalising capacity, taking the foreign expression of the new idea or mechanical instrument and as far as possible “bantuising” it by adding a pronominal prefix (in the case of Xosa-Zulu), and giving the word an open syllabic or vowel termination in accordance with the harmonious Bantu phonetic system.

Example :—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sechuana.</i>	<i>Xosa.</i>
Glass	becomes galas-o	and i-galase.
Train	„ teren-a	„ u loliwe (railway).
Scotch-cart	„ sekoche-kara	„ i-skots-kala.

If, indeed, as Keane says, “articulate speech is at once a measure and outward expression of mental capacity of various human groups,”² then we see no reason why the Bantu should not lay claim to considerable mental capacity.

As mentioned more than once before already, the tribes of the interior talk one language—Sechuana-Sesuto; those of the east coast talk another—the Xosa-Zulu. Now, the two groups of nationalities may be said to converge geographically and even coalesce ethnically towards the south of the sub-continent, but it is exactly the reverse with their languages, which unmistakably show a gradual approximation northwards, to a certain point. With this approximation of language is, *pari passu*, approximation in physique, Zulu being more like Mochuana and Mosuto,³ both in language and appearance, than is Xosa.

From the standpoint of morphological (or structural) classification, the position of the Bantu is seen in the following tables.

Professor Max Müller classified languages into :—

1. Radical, Isolating or Monosyllabic Languages—these being characterised by each root preserving its substantive independence. Such are the Indo-Chinese languages.

¹ *The Science of Language*, ii. 70.

² *Ethnology*, p. 173.

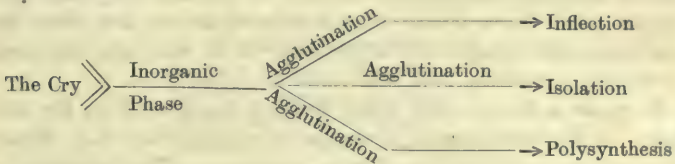
³ Mochuana (pl. = Bechuana). Mosuto (pl. = Basuto).

2. Terminational or Agglutinating Languages—those in which two or more roots coalesce to form a new word. Such are the Bantu languages.
3. Inflexional or Amalgamating Languages—characterised by a coalescence of two roots neither of which retains its substantive independence. Such are the Aryan languages. (*The Science of Language.*)

Professor A. H. Keane classifies languages as follows :—

1. Agglutinating Languages : spoken by Negroes, Negroids, Bantu, Polynesians, and Malays.
2. Polysynthetic Languages : spoken by the original Americans.
3. Inflecting Languages : spoken by the Caucasian peoples.
4. Isolating Languages : spoken by the Indo-Chinese and Tibetans.

Roughly, in this latter order these languages were believed (and are still believed by some) to represent their degree or stage of evolution. That is No. 1 would be most evolved, and No. 4 the least evolved. There is now a reversal of the order generally, and many now incline to the belief that the Isolating Languages are the highest or most evolved, and the Agglutinating Languages the least evolved.



(After Keane, *Ethnology.*)

Having examined the grammatical and etymological aspect of the Bantu language, we shall inquire into its use by the people. Here we meet with a unanimous statement from all sides—all who have had an opportunity of being in native meetings agree that the Bantu are born orators and wield their language with rare mastery. Almost at random we quote Mr. Anderson's view. He says: "The language used by the natives on public occasions, and more especially by the chiefs, is eloquent, shrewd, and fluent, and would do honour to the best-educated European." Mr. Anderson then goes on to quote a speech made by Moshesh,

Supreme Chief of the Basuto, after he had invited the missionaries to evangelise his people. The speech, which loses much in translation, goes as follows :—

“ Rejoice, ye men of Mokare and ye sons of Mokhatshane ! You rulers of the cities rejoice ! We have all reason to rejoice on account of the good news we have heard. There are a great many sayings among men. Among them some are true and some are false ; but the false have remained with us and multiplied—therefore we ought to pick up carefully the truths we hear, lest they should be lost in the multitude of lies. We are told that we have all been created by the One Being and we all spring from one man. Sin entered man’s heart when he ate of the forbidden fruit, and we have sin from him. These men (the missionaries) say that they have sinned ; and what is sin in them is sin in us also, because we come from one stock, and their hearts and ours are one thing. Ye of Mokhatshane have heard these words and you say they are lies. If these words do not take effect, the fault will lie with you. You say you will not believe what you do not understand. Consider the egg ! If a man break it there comes only a watery and yellow substance out of it, but if it be placed under the wing of a fowl, a living thing comes from it. Who can understand this ? Whoever knew how the heat of the hen produced the chicken in the egg ? This is incomprehensible to us, yet we do not deny the fact. Let us place these truths in our hearts, as the hen does the eggs under the wings ; let us sit upon them, and take the same pains and something new will come of them.”

So spoke a Bantu chief after hearing the Gospel for the first time. Of Moshesh himself, more has been said (Chap.V.). Meantime we proceed with the Bantu language. The language of the Bantu abounds in proverbial sayings which are remarkable for their practical common sense, shrewdness, and truth. Most of these have exact equivalents in one or other of the European languages, but have originated quite independently of them, as it were, by separate research. These occur in everyday talk even among children.

SIX SESUTO-SECHUANA PROVERBS AND ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

1. Lemme ga le bolae, go bolaea Half loaf is better than no bread.
 leffi.
2. Lencoe gale boe go boa monoana. Word uttered can’t be taken back.
3. Moeng ga dibedi. Follow customs or fly the country.

4. Phokoje go tshela eo o diretsen- The early bird catches the worm.
yana.
5. Le pelung gale tshitse. A fault confessed is half redressed.
6. Mocoa kgomo gase lesilo. He is an ill guest that does not drink
to his host.

SIX ZULU-XOSA PROVERBS

1. No plant comes to flower but to wither. =Mortal life.
2. To-morrow is also a day. =Frugality recommended.
3. When horses grow horns, or rivers ascend mountains. =Wait for ever.
4. There is no beast but roars in his den. =Every cock crows on its own
dunghill.
5. A brand burns him who stirs it up. =Let sleeping dogs lie.
6. One fly does not provide for another. =Everyone for himself.

Of poetry, the Bantu have exhaustless stores. In fact, these people, like other inhabitants of the tropics—Indians and Spaniards, for instance, in whom the imagination transcends the reason—are eminently poetic in their sentiments. The rhythms of their composition, however, are quite peculiar and varied. The compositions are mostly heroic or epic in character, without the English iambic and the classical hexametrical rhythm. The composers are generally antiquarians attached to the court, who are at the same time the professors in native customs and traditions and oral folklore.

We subjoin a specimen of the Sechuana poetry :—

Ke ngoana oa ga mang
 Eo ontse a golokakoa ke lotalaje
 Ke tau e mokodue Kgagodi,
 Ke lohukutsa loa ntsha batho
 Dikhutsana bana ba humile ?
 Mogadile o ra Sebeela gaa gakoe
 Fa o emeng teng go bonoa
 Ka mekgolela ea marumo.
 Nkile ka phunyaka letebele phogoana,
 Eare 'molaoa ka mo isa Sekiti.

XOSA SPECIMEN

Make ndikukaule mfondini wak' wetu
 Ungeka zigqibi, usiku inyongo,
 Uzityand' igila, ud uziti bongo,
 Sendikute meqe, ndigeine nge-tumbu.

Make' kalokunje, kugagan iz' fuba,
 Sicupan' obontsi, sitwax' ukuteta,
 I benge inteto, iz' inga dulusi,
 Irole umxelo nomxol' ingakwekwi.

Kuntsuku siteta, utung' amabanya,
 Andisakutsela, ndidinwe kuncwela
 Ndopum' engusheni, siza kuhlazana.
 Zulunge—ke ntanga kuko namanyala.

From *Zemk' Inkomo Magwala ndini*,
 by W. B. RUBUSANA.

A translation of a composition by one of the first Xosa converts to Christianity—Ntsikana :—

Thou art the great God—He who is in Heaven.
 It is Thou, Thou Shield of Truth ;
 It is Thou, Thou Tower of Truth ;
 It is Thou, Thou Bush of Truth ;
 It is Thou, Thou who sittest in the Highest.
 Thou art the Creator of Life, Thou madest the regions above ;
 The Creator who madest the heavens also.
 The maker of the Stars and the Pleiades.
 The shooting stars declare it unto us.
 The Maker of the blind, of Thine own will dost Thou make them.
 The trumpet call—for us it calls.
 Thou art the Hunter who hunts for souls.
 Thou art the Leader who goes before us.
 Thou art the great Mantle which covers us.
 Thou art He whose hands are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose feet are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose blood is a trickling stream.
 Thou art He whose blood was spilled for us, and why ?
 • For this great price we call.
 For thine own place we call.

APPLEYARD.

Literature.—The Bantu, and in fact the Negroes as a whole, prior to their contact with foreign peoples possessed no literature and had evolved no systematic alphabet or other means of conveying their ideas in writing. The one and only exception we have heard of, of a Negro or Negroid people having evolved an alphabet of their own, is that of the *Veh* people of the west horn of Africa. Rev. S. K. Koelle, missionary in Sierra Leone, 1849, found that the Veh or Vei had a written language and that the inventor of the characters—one Doala Bukara—was then alive. This genius had seen Arabic books and an English Bible, and the written characters made such an impression on him, that he determined to invent something similar for his language.¹ No foreign influence seems to have helped in this process.

¹ R. G. Latham's *Natural History of Varieties of Man*.

As for the Bantu, beyond the concrete or symbolic representations of certain ideas, no method of direct communication through space was known. The symbolic representations were few, but were generally very extensively understood, and even to-day most people know that a branch or twig of a tree symbolises a desire for peace, in the same way as a white feather in this country is understood to be a reproach for cowardice. It is conceivable that this concrete representation of ideas might have been the first, the primeval effort of communication immediately preceding the pictographic and ideographic system of the North American Indians and the Aztecs. Through these systems, the rude method of communication would have passed and been, after centuries, evolved successively into the phonographic system of the Chinese, the demotic or hieroglyphic writing of the ancient Egyptians, till it was perfected in the phonetic alphabet of the Assyrians and Persians' system, and the pure alphabet system of the Phœnicians, from which are derived the Greek and Roman characters. The Bantu, who pride themselves on their race talent for speaking in public, say that God commanded the whites to learn to write, and the blacks to learn to speak, in the same way as Egyptians, Greeks, and Indians have mythological legends of how Heaven bequeathed the art of writing to them. In the absence of any system of *writing*, that great trophy of intellectual conquest, we find the Bantu a stereotyped people. Their past is dark, and their history shrouded in mists for want of the photographic light of writing, the progress almost *nil* for want of that kinetic force of advance, betterment, and civilisation which writing alone can give.

The knowledge of letters, then, with the Bantu dates from the arrival of the alien races. The Asiatics on the east and the Europeans on the west introduced Arabic characters and Roman characters respectively, and since Arabs settled in many parts of the east coast centuries before Europeans knew ought of the west coast, Arabic characters got a start of the Roman in the same proportion of time. But the proselytising process of the Mohammedans does not include very much education in its programme. The barbarian is taught first the alphabet, and then when he is able to read the Koran for himself his education is practically complete. For the rest he need only memorise such passages as the mullah (or teacher) prescribes. The natives had, of course, first to learn Arabic, for the

Koran, being "verbally inspired," was too holy to be translated into their, or any other language.

Bantu literature dates from the seventeenth century, precisely in 1624, when a treatise on *The Christian Doctrine*, by Father Marco Jorga, was translated by the Portuguese priests of Congo's court into a Congolese dialect. This seems to have been the first work ever published in a Bantu language. In 1640 a catechism was translated into Angola language by a Portuguese priest, Father S. J. Pacconio.

But the greatest impetus to, or motive force of, Bantu literature was the missionary enthusiasm at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. Moffat in 1838 translated the Bible into Sechuana, Appleyard about the same time translated it into Xosa, and the French missionaries into Sesuto. Ever since, Bantu literature has gone on increasing, and now there are Bantu writers and printers. Altogether, however, considering the progress these people have made, the Bantu literature must be considered as ruefully narrow, being confined to religious books—Bible, catechism, *Pilgrim's Progress*, hymn books, a few grammars and fewer general readings. The Bantu themselves are anything but a reading public.

Music among the Bantu was most rudimentary, consisting as it did generally of the simplest compositions imaginable. Generally, these were in the form of a few bars or phrases hummed or sung repeatedly *ad libitum* and *ad nauseam*. Theoretically the diapason was divided into fewer (about four) fundamental tones of somewhat smaller intervals than modern music, and somewhat like the Greek chromatic tetrachord—C, B^b, A^b, G. These intervals contained all stages of chromatic variations (like a violin slur), so that the entire diatonic scale seemed essentially quasi-chromatic in nature. The result was that all the Bantu compositions sounded to the ear used to modern music as if in the minor mode, giving all the songs a plaintive character, especially in association with the monotonous repetitions above noted.

The musical instruments of the Bantu were rude, and made more noise than music. 1. The best known was a type of piano, common among the Makalaka and Bakongo. This consisted of twenty to forty iron keys, graded to scale and fixed to a more or less squarish board, and put inside a calabash resonator.

2. A violin arrangement, probably from Bushmen and Hottentots, was common among the Bechuana. This consisted of a metal wire stretched by a bent rod or bow, one end of which was fixed to a calabash resonator. The instrument was called "*bora*." 3. A drum was common among the Xosa people, and consisted of hide tightly stretched over hollow wood.

Vocal and instrumental music was nearly always an accompaniment to dancing, and music as such could not be said to have become an independent art. Its three elements of rhythm, melody, and harmony were variously marked, and peculiar in type.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

THE question we set ourselves to answer in this chapter is—What did the Bantu Negroes believe before the Christian missionaries came to them? What was their religion? The question is answered accurately by Mr. Drummond: “They had a national religion—the fear of evil spirits.” The religion, then, since it presupposed the existence of spirits, may be called Spiritism or Animism, and since the belief was heathen, Heathenism or Paganism, and we shall attempt to show its effects, however perplexed and involved in mystery. While Africa north of the equator was divided between Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Paganism, it was, south of the equator, almost entirely Pagan, with the exception of a small strip inhabited by the Arabs on the east coast.

The African believed that all space was pervaded by ghosts and spirits of his ancestors, also other spirits, all, however, more or less malicious and exercising a baneful control over him and shaping his destinies. These spirits together constituted his deity, which, peculiarly enough, he could, however, regulate to favour his own ends and projects, good or bad—employ it to the good of his friends and detriment of his foes. His whole life was overhung with dread of the evil these spirits might of themselves, or by direction of enemies, exercise; his existence one long strain to get into their good graces by propitiation, get mastery over them by discovering effective charms and incantations, or at least render himself impervious to their baneful influence. In other words, he resorted to *Magic*, by which he understood the art or science of the secret natural forces, by the employment of which natural and supernatural phenomena could be controlled or coerced. Of the reality of magic he had not the shadow of a doubt, and he was

ever ready to avail himself of its ready assistance and protection. But so important a branch of knowledge must of needs have special professors—men who had spent their lives in research and investigation into the secrets of Nature, and under whose care one might count on the correct direction of magic, appropriate incantations, etc. Thus arose the need of a specialist, variously called Magician, Witch-Doctor, Medicine Man, Rain-Doctor or Diviner. It is unnecessary to draw distinctions between them, as such a course must only result in confusion, and in any case the various offices of working in magic, curing disease, rain-making, and divining were generally combined in the same individual. A witch or wizard alone will be separately considered as, although a magician, her (or his) influence was always pernicious and of a different order.

The witch-doctor or magician was a very important functionary in a tribe. Nothing that might affect the tribal welfare was attempted without the presence and consent of this official. No chief succeeded to the crown, no army took the field without passing through his hands to be made impervious and invulnerable. His first duty was to dispense charms to those who needed the magic assistance and protection. Now a charm might consist of a specially prepared piece of leather tied round the wrist, neck, or waist, or it might consist of a curio which the subject had always to carry about his person. It might also consist of a root of some plant, to be chewn in perplexity or trouble, and rapidly blown this way and that into the air, often accompanied by some mutterings.

Besides dispensing charms the other duties of the witch-doctor were to diagnose and cure disease as well as discover its causes (nearly always some ill-disposed party), to make rain and to ferret or "smell out" witches.

Diagnosis, witch-smelling, and divination were effected by unstudiously throwing on a mat a dozen or so small carved bones known as "*Bola*," and noting the position they took relative to each other.

To the Bantu mind sickness and death were unnatural, and always due to the malicious influence of the witches. Hence at every death a civil inquest was held and somebody always suffered as the cause.

The witch-doctor had undoubtedly some valuable knowledge of the pharmacology and therapeutics of roots and herbs. Affections such as headache, dysentery, constipation were often

successfully treated, but even beyond this, some claimed to be able to cure tumours, simple or malignant, without resorting to operation; for in fact, though possessing some knowledge of medical drugs, they knew absolutely nothing of surgery beyond scarifying the skin, tattooing, and bleeding.

When therapeutic means had failed, the witch-doctor resorted to *cure by sucking*. To do this he placed such things as beetles, nails, macerated meat secretly in his mouth, then applying his lips to various parts of the patient, he pretended to suck out the malady. Spitting into a dish the various things from his mouth, he pointed to them as the cause of sickness. This process, of course, tended to enhance his reputation and increase belief in witchcraft.

The deitary and other spirits had no assigned locality; some were in the earth, others in the air, and some others inhabiting stones, trees, and other material objects.

Of God, the pagan had but the faintest and haziest idea, nevertheless, an idea, sufficient to show that inherent spark of higher faith which seems to be an endowment of the human mind. This god, however, was more of an absent god; he lived retired on high, took no concern in what was going on, and although the author of Nature and more powerful than the spirits, he was inactive. But that of his actual existence most tribes had some idea is not only supported by tradition but by currency of names by which he was denominated by various Bantu nations and tribes. Thus the Becoana and Basuto called him Modimo (The High); the Zulus, Umkulu-nkulu (the Great Great One); the Ova-herero, Karunga; the Manganjas, Morungo; and even the Hottentots, Gounja Ticquoa or Tikxo, from which Tixo of the Xosas is said to be derived. These various words have all been translated by the missionaries into "*God*," showing that the description of the Supreme Being of the Bantu corresponded in all essential points with *God*.

In these beliefs may be seen the faint glimmerings of the most essential religious truths of to-day, such as the existence of a supreme being, the future state, and the immortality of the soul. Unfortunately, however, these elements of a higher faith were mixed with, and almost obliterated by, a superstition of the grossest kind, which coloured and complicated the moral and religious life of the Bantu.

This superstition, a belief ascribing every incident to the agency or direct intervention of supernatural beings or forces,

formed one of the chief features, if not actually itself the chief feature of their life. It was, of course, more marked in some tribes or nations than in others, but all, without exception, were superstitious in the extreme.

Superstition is characteristic of ignorance, of which it is the outcome. Even in the so-called civilised nations, absurdities are still believed to this day, especially among the more ignorant people of the lower classes. It is a well-known historical fact that an ignorant people always incline to a religion full of marvels and wonders, a religion which boasts of many gods and saints, and it is to these gods, spirits, and saints that every phenomenon is ascribed. It is thus evident that superstition and religion are so closely interwoven as almost to be inseparable, and both of them must very greatly influence national character, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse.

What is it that constitutes the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism? The one is essentially a creed of the dark days of the Middle Ages throughout Europe, when saints were the mode and fashion. This religion was adapted to the mind of the people then, but as time went on the European mind evolved and clamoured for an evolved religion, and thus came about the Religious Revolution and the establishment of a simpler faith, with fewer mysteries and saints—a religion requiring more reason than faith, asserting the supremacy of individual judgment.

With the advance of science, even Protestantism itself must become simplified. The scientific era will spurn anything that exalts imagination and credulity over reason and inquiry, anything that cannot be explained by the laws of science and reason, and ultimately science itself must be the religion of the educated, for science and religion will teach the same truths, and become synonymous or at least complementary.

The citation of a well-known incident in South African history will convey to the reader a much better idea of the operation of the curse of superstition among the Bantu, than any amount of description.

In the year 1857 a witch-doctor, by name Umhlakaza, among the Xosa nation instructed a girl, Nongqause, to proclaim that she was an inspired mouthpiece of the Xosa ancestral spirits; that the spirits moved her to command and to prophesy.

The command was that every member of the nation should kill his live stock—cattle, sheep, and goats—and destroy his foodstuff—corn and crops—leaving barely sufficient to last a few days. The fulfilment of the prophecy depended on this condition. The prophecy was that on the morning of a certain day, the sun would rise blood red, ascend the skies and stop at the zenith. That when it reached the zenith, fat cattle would spring from the earth, exhaustless stores of choicest corn would fill the barns, old women and men would become young again, and the ancient chiefs, by whose command these words were spoken, would themselves come to life again to lead their people to victory and the great future reserved for them. But there must be absolute co-operation, added the bogus prophetess. The prophecy travelled as swift as lightning. Some believed immediately, others after much coaxing, and a few not at all. But soon, the cattle were slaughtered by thousands a day, corn and crops destroyed, large fences constructed to receive the “fat cattle” from the gods, and barns strengthened to stand the strain of exhaustless stores of corn. The aged bedecked themselves for their rejuvenation, and all waited the good day with great impatience, and with wild excitement, with song and with dance.

The day at last came. The rising sun was watched by tens of thousands with breathless expectancy. Was it blood red? Opinion was divided. Some doubted and others declared they saw the blood-red colour, and soon all saw it—so great is the power of suggestion. The sun rose higher in the heavens, and, when it reached the zenith, you might have heard a pin drop. No one dared breathe. The appointed hour was come. Perhaps some old women actually felt the rejuvenation shock. True to its colours, the sun went down to the west and set. Only then did these too-believing, simple folk know they had been deceived. What the British Government did to help those misguided sons of Xosa saved many thousands, but did not prevent 70,000 of them perishing of starvation. The harvest of credulity was fully gathered. Umhlabakaza had gravely miscalculated, for his original idea in inventing the command and prophecy was that the Xosas, having nothing to rely on for sustenance, would hurl themselves against the European colonists with that wonderful strength born of despair, and so “drive the white men into the sea.”

A word may now be said about witchcraft, the evil influence

which some people exert on others by means of the black art. What an African understands by witchcraft is closely analogous, but not the same as what the European, or at least the English, understands. Webster thus defines a witch: "A person, especially a woman, who is given to the black art, and is regarded as possessing supernatural or magical powers by compact with evil spirits." It need only be added that she uses these powers to the detriment, never to the good, of others, and herein lies the whole difference and distinction between a witch and a witch-doctor or magician. The one uses his knowledge for the good and welfare of the tribe, and as such is licensed by public opinion. The former uses her skill to the harm of the members of the tribe; her practices are anti-social, and opposed to the Bantu tribal policy, and she is, therefore, a law-breaker, an unlicensed practitioner of magic, a quack, whom it is the business of the witch-doctor to smell out or ferret, so that she may be visited with the punishment her practices deserve.

These witches were supposed to go about in the night, call the dead out of their graves, open bolted doors by merely breathing on them, induce anæsthetic sleep by a mere glance on such as were not previously protected by the witch-doctor's charms, and generally amused themselves by cutting people's bodies and taking their blood, hair, or other belongings to bewitch and cause sickness or death of the subject indirectly. In the day they attained the same end by bewitching footprints, personal possessions, etc., by a mere look. A young man who was steadily "glowered at" by an old lady whom he had displeased, and told, "You shall see!" knew that his doom was sealed. In a few days he must become blind, paralysed, or meet some great catastrophe. With such powers were these witches credited.

All sickness and death were the results of witchcraft, and at the death of an important personage the witch-doctor was called in to smell out or ferret the witch. This generally happened to be some unpopular old woman. She was either put to death or put on trial by ordeal, which nearly always led to death itself. It has been calculated that 30-40 per cent. of the population of some parts of Central Africa perished as a result of trials by ordeal. It is perhaps such devilish practices that have earned for the whole Negro race the notoriety for cruelty, and indeed the practices are cruel from an absolute standpoint, even though they were done with the best of intentions—

that, namely, of ridding the public of witches. It was, of course, a matter of conscience with the persecutors, in the same way as the best Roman emperors, who had the interests of Rome at heart—*e.g.* Marcus Aurelius and Julian—were the most earnest in persecuting the early Christian Church, or as much later, in the age far more civilised than that of either Nero or the Negro, the Catholics and Protestants took the greatest delight in burning each other.

It is but natural to expect that the trial by ordeal should, in a barbarous people, be attended with very great suffering. Thanks to the powers that be—in this case the British Government—such horrors are now a thing of the past. To accuse anyone of witchcraft, to profess to be able to “smell out” witches, to seek the advice of a magician, are all strictly prohibited, and considered a criminal offence.

Superstition and witchcraft were, perhaps, the two greatest curses among the Bantu, and so universal and deep-rooted were they that their death has been necessarily slow and hard, so that to this day very many, even those who pretend to enlightenment and Christianity, do not cast a shadow of doubt on the reality of witchcraft and other superstitious beliefs, and this must manifestly continue to be the case until the people are a little more acquainted with the laws of physical science—the one and only rock on which their superstitious cargo must go to wreck and ruin.

That witchcraft should loom so largely in the life of a primitive people is not at all surprising when the fact is viewed in the light of historical perspective. Going back to Israel, it will be remembered that the Israelites generally believed in witchcraft; that throughout the Middle Ages all Europe had not the slightest doubt of its reality, so that hundreds of people continued to be accused of witchcraft in England and Scotland up to and after the publication of the Authorised Version of the Bible (in the reign of James I., 1603–1625); that these people were condemned, executed, burnt, or tortured to death with the strongest public approval. In fact, so strong was the belief in witchcraft that anybody who impugned its reality was guilty of an offence almost tantamount to heresy.

At the accession of James I. (1603) an Act was passed against witchcraft. The Act admirably shows the views of the time, and runs:—

“If any person or persons shall use, practise, or exercise

any invocation or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, or employ, feed or reward any evil or wicked spirit, to or for any intent, or purpose, or take up any dead man or woman or child out of his, her, or their grave, or any place where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or any part of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment, or shall use, practise, or exercise any witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined, or lamed in his or her body or any part thereof, every such person is a felon without the benefit of the clergy."

People were burnt on authority of the King's writ *de heretico comburendo*, after condemnation. In cases of doubt, trial by ordeal was practised. This consisted in severe torture—severe because the devil protected his votaries. The laws against witchcraft in England existed up to as late a date as 1736. The last execution had been in 1712.

In 1665 a justice of the realm, Chief Baron Sir Matthew Hale, an eminent judge of the time of the Restoration, an ex-member of Cromwell's Parliament, and a brilliant author of some legal histories which are still valued as manuals—such an official, assisted by Sir Thomas Browne, the famous London physician of the time and celebrated author of *Religio Medici*, as expert medical witness, trying two Suffolk women, named Rose Culender and Annie Drury, who had been accused of witchcraft, thus charged the jury: "That there are such creatures as witches, I make no doubt at all, for, first, the Scriptures have affirmed so much; secondly, the wisdom of all nations hath provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime." The verdict may be guessed. Campbell states in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i. pp. 565–566, that they were hanged. Later still, in 1712, when there was a professed disbelief in witchcraft among the educated, five witches were executed at Northampton.¹

In Spain, the most religious country in Europe, the last witch was burnt to death as late as 1781. And in Germany, which arrogates to itself the first place in Western civilisation, the last witch was executed in 1793 at Posen. Little wonder, then, that to a people credited with a civilisation far below that of the eighteenth-century Europe, witchcraft should be such a palpable

¹ Parr's *Works*, vol. iv. p. 182.

reality, and exist side by side with professed Christianity. That it will disappear there seems no reason to doubt. It is incompatible with intellectual advance, and must, therefore, lose ground, *pari passu*, with the increasing civilisation of the Bantu as surely as it has among the more advanced peoples of Western Europe.

We have said that the religion, if religion it is, of the Bantu, was Animism. It may be asked whether they have ever had another religion before or after Animism. To this question a definite answer cannot be given. But the following facts would lead one to suppose so.

Among the Bechuana nations of the interior there was a deeply-rooted custom known as *seboko*, by which each tribe venerated a certain animal or natural object. From this feeling of reverential fear no member of the tribe would dare touch, destroy, or eat the object of tribal veneration. Accordingly, therefore, while the tribe was generally named after its founder, it was alternatively called after the animal it venerated. Thus the Ba-Mangwato tribe were founded by their ancient chief, Ngwato, after whom they called themselves; but, as their totem animal was *phuthi*, or the duiker, they were as correctly called Ba-Phuthi. The Barolong people, founded by Morolong, respected *Tshipi* (or iron), therefore they were alternatively called Ba-Tshipi. Similarly, the Bangwaketse, founded by Ngwaketse, venerated *Kwena* (or crocodile), and alternatively called themselves Ba-Kwena.

Other tribes had even abandoned calling themselves after their founders, preserving only that of their totem animal. Thus the Batlhaping, who venerated *Tlhapi* (or fish), had no alternative name. Similarly the Ba-Noga, who respected *Noga* (or the snake), had no name derived from their founder.

Now, the word for "venerate" among all the Bechuana tribes is "*bina*." This word has two meanings, namely, "dance," and "abhor." The first meaning is the commoner by far, and it is not surprising that all who have attempted to describe the Bechuana totemism have translated the word "*bina*" into "dance." But the word "*bina*," in this particular use, means abhor, or shrink from in horror (*abhorreo*), to abominate or loathe as an ill-omened thing. It is easy to see how this would develop into a religious fear and regard, purely and simply because destruction of the animal in question was regarded as ill-omened and might mean tribal calamity.

Dancing has nothing whatsoever to do with it, and when a Muchuana (pl. Bechuana) met another, and asked "U binang?" he meant: "What do you *abhor*?" The idea of dancing never entered his mind for a second.

Lunar worship seems also to have been sometimes before practised by the Bantu, for, on the appearance of a new moon, requests and wishes were addressed to it.

Among the Hottentots the appearance of the new moon was the greatest time in the month. Dancing ceremonies, feasts, and much jollification, accompanied with addresses, recitals, and worship, were the rule, and it is possible that some Bantu acquired the practice of lunar worship from this source.

Cosmogony.—Of creation the Bantu had some theories.

The "metamorphoses" theory of all the Bantu was practically the same. It, however, lacked in completeness. Thus no attempt was made to explain the creation of the world and the elements. The Bantu cosmogony, however, agreed with the ancient mythology, as interpreted by the classic authors, and with the Mosaic tradition, as contained in Genesis, in making man the last work of the Creator. The Bechuana-Basuto people, and also those tribes on the west coast (Damaras), believed that mankind originally came out of a cave in the earth. They have a myth about the existence of a flat rock on which are tracks and footprints of all creatures in their country. The Xosa-Zulu people, on the other hand, held that mankind came out of a hollow reed. According to them, one Umvel'nqanki (First Appearer) came out of Uhlanga (reed), and then evolved plants, animals, and all things that are in the world, and then finally men and women. The origin of man was the only point where the Bantu nationalities had slightly different theories. For the rest, they agreed in every particular, and, at the same time, closely approximated the classic and Mosaic mythologies, the underlying idea of which was the gradual degeneracy of mankind. Thus, according to Bantu cosmogony also, "man first, without any avenger or the constraint of law, of his own accord, practised faith and justice.

"Fear and punishment were yet unknown.

"Without employing soldiers, nations lived peaceably and secure in soft tranquillity. The earth, too, of herself, untouched by the harrow and unwounded by ploughshares, gave all kinds of fruit in plenty."

“Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
 Poena metusque aberant.
 . . . Sine militis usu
 Mollia fecurae peragebant otia mentes.
 Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis
 Sua vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus.”¹

Man was happy and immortal. He neither hungered nor thirsted. He did not multiply. On all sides he was surrounded by unmolested and unmolested animals—cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, and wild animals—all as free as air, for man did not desire to kill them, nor they him. All was peace and harmony.

Then this golden age of Bantu cosmogony was succeeded by a less happy, which was ushered in by an alarming incident. A woman was in travail, and shortly gave birth—an unprecedented event. This could augur nothing but ill, and so it was decided to poison and kill her. To do this she was given corn, fruits, pumpkins, and meat—the natural produce of the earth, hitherto untouched. But, lo! instead of dying the woman lived more certainly, for she grew fat. The intended “poisons” were thus found to be good, and ever after were used as food.

Umvel’nganki was greatly displeased at the behaviour of his progeny, and decided to punish them, wherefore he sent a chameleon (*unwabo*, Xosa-Zulu; *lobodu*, Sechuana-Sesuto) to announce that man should die, but rise again. When the chameleon had departed on its high mission, Umvel’nganki decided on a more drastic measure, and accordingly dispatched a lizard (*entulo* in Xosa-Zulu; *kganthlapane* in Sechuana) to announce that man should die and never rise again.

The fleet-footed lizard made speedy way and passed the chameleon which had loitered and spent much time in eating berries (*greiwa flava*) (*umkwebisane*, Xosa-Zulu; *moretloa*, Sechuana-Sesuto). In this way the lizard arrived first and delivered the fatal message to Nature—that man should die never to rise again. When the chameleon arrived with its more favourable message, Nature rejected it as she had already registered and adopted the lizard’s message. In this way death came about. And so the Bantu boys killed all lizards and chameleons that they saw by way of avenging themselves and mankind at large.

Mental Philosophy.—Of natural death and the dead, the Bantu had a peculiar dread. So far as possible they avoided

¹ Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.

introducing into thier conversation anything connected with death, and the word itself was studiously avoided. Usually, too, in some tribes, when a person was dying, he was taken out of the house so that he might die outside. If, however, it happened that death supervened before the person was taken outside, the hut wherein he died was broken at the back and the corpse taken out through that unofficial opening as it must on no account be taken out by the ordinary door. The hut was usually abandoned also.

Such personal belongings as the dead person used in life were generally buried with him, as nobody would dare use them. The whole underlying idea seems to have been a supposed infectivity of death, especially as death was always supposed to be due to witchcraft, unless it could be proved to be due to some force or violence external to the body.

The dead were generally buried in the erect posture, and facing towards the north, the direction from which the people originally came.

The Bantu were not only Spiritists, but also Spiritualists, for they believed that disembodied spirits could produce effects in the material world. The spirits of the deceased hovered ever over them, and could be got into communication with. It is evident that they believed in the immortality of the soul. In fact this belief was so strong that it produced another, viz. the belief in the re-embodiment of the spirit. In other tribes, *e.g.* Banyai of Central Africa, it evinced itself in the belief in metempsychosis.

What their exact idea was about the future state is hard to say. They had a word for heaven, but it seems to have been a kind of geographical expression with them, and thought of, as one fears many people still think, as a defined space on the other side of the firmament, and exclusively for the abode of the Supreme Being. They had also a word for "hell," but their original idea of such a place is lost, and replaced by the acquired one of hell being a "huge eternal fire." Most remarkable, however, is the fact that in no Bantu language was there a word for "Satan," and the missionaries have had to Bantuisé the English words Satan, Devil, or use the more descriptive and translatable one of "tempter."

Prayer, or any outward form of worship as generally understood, was unknown to the Bantu.

Such was, in a few words, the creed of the Bantu, with its

component superstition. Such were their religious beliefs. How far do they agree with the usual definitions of religion? The definitions of religion given by various writers are many and different, but they all have this in common—the supernatural at the one end, man at the other, and adjustment of relationship between the two. Professor Max Müller thus vigorously defines it: “Religion is the outcome of desire to explain all things—physical, metaphysical, and moral—by analogies drawn from human society, imaginatively and symbolically considered. In short, it is a universal sociological hypothesis, mythical in form” (*Non-Religion of the Future*, p. 2).

James Williams says: “Religious life consists in the beliefs that there is an unseen order, and that our supreme good lies in harmoniously adjusting ourselves thereto. The belief and the adjustment are the religious attitude of the soul.”

In the *Golden Bough*, p. 63, Frazer thus defines religion: “It is a propitiation or conciliation of powers supreme to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and human life.”

If then the three elements—supernatural, man, and the adjustment of relationship between the two by the latter—constitute religion, it seems that the Bantu had a religion, primitive and unevolved certainly, but none the less a religion. Judged in this light, one is loth to accept the statements that some peoples have no religious beliefs at all, as, for instance, the Brazilians and Polynesians, and especially when among these are included Zulus, who are an important section of the Bantu race, and hold religious ideas in common with the other Bantu discussed above. Moreover, we are told from all sides that “man is a religious being.”

CHAPTER XIV

SLAVERY

“ O execrable sin, to aspire
Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurpt, from God not given,
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
By His donation ;—but man over man
He made not lord, such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

MILTON.

THE institution of slavery is perhaps as old as the world, being a rough and ready law of the strong over the weak, or, in other words, of might being right, which more than any other is of practical application among primitive peoples all over the world. We thus find it a constant factor in the social system of ancient nations, *e.g.* Hebrews, Romans, and Greeks, among whom the slaves were so numerous as to form more than two-thirds of the population. These slaves were generally prisoners of war, the law of the ancients being like that of the primitive people—death or slavery. Thus the barbarians against whom Cæsar was ever at war were, when defeated, doomed to face that terrible alternative, and their passing under the yoke fitly portrayed their life under the Roman yoke, often ending in their being

“ Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday.”

In the same way as European enslaved European, so African enslaved African ; here also the slaves being recruited from war prisoners, and also regarded as having forfeited human rights. It is, however, neither with the history of slavery in the ancient civilisations nor among the primitive people of Africa *inter se*, that we are chiefly concerned in this chapter.

It is the history of the enslavement of Africa by Western Europe and Eastern nations that we wish to trace.

This black cloud of slavery appeared in the African sky when the fresh and fierce fanatic faith of Islam burst from Asia into the north of Africa in the seventh century, and, like burning lava of Vesuvius before ancient Pompeii, carried and covered all before it. This black cloud of slavery was destined to loom right on to the end of the nineteenth century.

The enslavement of Africa by the Arabs falls into three periods, namely that before the entry of Europe into the African slave market (1442); the second period corresponding to the period of participation of Europe in the African slave trade (1442–1870), and the third or post-emancipation period after 1870.

The Arabs, settling along the whole breadth of Africa north of the great Sahara Desert, and extending down the east coast, began a systematic series of slave raids among the surrounding Negro tribes, and shipped thousands of them to Arabia and other Mohammedan countries—Turkey, Persia, and India; killed with the characteristic heartlessness of a slave-hunter tens of thousands, and had in a few years rendered desolate large areas of country formerly thickly populated. Until the middle of the nineteenth century this slave-raiding was confined to the north of the Zambesi. But the trade was too remunerative, and was sanctioned by their religion, and so the Arabs developed and extended their hunting grounds south of the Zambesi, and also westwards, captured man, woman, child, and killed the unfit, whether from age, ill-health or fatigue; thus literally turning the dark into the red continent. Among the Mohammedans, slavery is a domestic institution, and so far from being considered wrong, it is thought rather commendable to have a large household of slaves, especially as the Koran sanctions it. In this way, slavery in the East is so intimately interwoven with the entire social fabric as to be inseparable from it.

The entry of the European nations into the African slave market is interesting as showing how continually every government and individual should be on his guard against unconsciously establishing precedents which become accepted as proper and just. Thus, while Portugal has the opprobrium of having been the first European nation to import slaves (1442),¹ it is somewhat extenuating that the importation was first done with the best intentions, if with mistaken zeal. For Portugal

¹ African slaves imported by the Portuguese, and some sold to Spain.

of the latter half of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth century "dreamed dreams and saw visions." The whole nation was fired with maritime ardour and missionary enthusiasm. To take the heathen from African heathen surroundings, and bring him up in Portugal in the pale of the Church and true faith was the greatest good, the original idea which outweighed and silenced all others. So the first slaves (1503)¹ were very comfortably off. But human nature is frail. Protection gave way to vassalage, vassalage to slavery. The Portuguese caught slaves from the west coast settlements and sold them to Spain, and their demand increased when the new world was discovered. Now a regular traffic was established between the West Coast of Africa and America.

In 1511 we find an edict being passed by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain permitting the transportation of Negroes born into slavery, and two years later (1511-1513) the West African slave trade was in full swing, for now slave-dealers were licensed to trade in their black cargo between the West Coast of Africa and America, as the Negroes were declared four times more useful to work in the mines of Haiti than the Indian aborigines of that clime. The slave trade proved a boon to Portugal and Spain, and increased. In 1517 Charles V. of Spain, successor to Ferdinand, granted a Flemish merchant a permit to carry across the Atlantic four thousand slaves per year, to Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. This measure the king seems to have lived to rue, for in 1542 he not only revoked it, but he also attempted to abolish slavery throughout his possessions.

It was not until 1562 that England was drawn into this unholy trade by her adventurers. In that year Sir John Hawkins, one of the great Elizabethan sailors, transported under the English flag the first shipload of Negroes to the Spanish West Indies. We are told that the great Queen was much perturbed when she heard of her subjects engaging in the slave trade, and exclaimed: "It would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers."

The slave trade, notwithstanding an occasional doubt as to its propriety and humanity, increased in dimensions. New haunts were opened up on the West Coast of Africa north of the equator, Senegal, Gambia, the entire length of Guinea or Gold Coast—since termed the Slave Coast—Niger delta, along the coast southward to the north of the Congo, Loanda, and

¹ First African slaves from Spain (Seville) to the West Indies (Haiti).

Angola—these were all happy hunting-grounds of the slavers. A brisk trade of unexampled vigour grew up in human flesh; agents threaded their way into the interior, and by all possible means—by brewing intertribal wars, spurious protection, hire, cajolery and deceit, threats, and even under pretence at converting the natives to Christianity, by all these means, they got slaves, and by selling them made comfortable fortunes for themselves. All the European sea-powers waged a lively rivalry, and London, Liverpool, and Bristol became busy slave-traffic ports. It has been computed that they transported about 70,000 slaves per year, and that within the space of one hundred years (1680–1786) more than two million Negro slaves were imported to the English American colonies alone.

The following figures from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are interesting: “Out of 40 factories on the coasts of Africa, Holland owned 15, England 14, Portugal 4, Denmark 4, France 3. From these the yearly export of slaves was 74,000; England 37,000, France 20,000, Portugal 10,000, Holland 4000, Denmark 2000.”

The arrival of the Dutch at the Cape (1652) was the means of beginning the trade in the southern part of Africa, for though Van Riebeeck was interdicted from the outset to enslave the aborigines, this was from no moral impulse, but rather from an economical one—lest the new colony should by so making itself unpopular, render itself liable to attack by barbaric hordes. But the Dutch must have slaves, so within two years of their arrival the Dutch Government introduced Malays from their Batavian Republics and Madagascar, and by 1658 introduced many more Negroes from the Guinea or West Coast of Africa. These were sold to the burghers for prices ranging from £4 to £8.

The freedom-loving Hottentots, too, at first voluntary retainers, steadily had their freedom encroached upon. A century after their arrival at the Cape, the Dutch were far outnumbered by their slaves, and this disproportion continued to increase, so that near the time of emancipation a wealthy Boer had generally quite a household of slaves, which would not “shame” a Roman.

In Southern East Africa, the Portuguese were supreme from the time 1500, when their celebrated sailor Vasco da Gama established forts at Beira and Sofala. It is not to be supposed that so enthusiastic a people, in so enterprising an age, could bear to see many Negroes idling. The Portuguese, as they were the first to enslave, were also the last to emancipate. And when

they had themselves followed other European powers in the Christian act of emancipation, it is notable that they connived at and shielded slavery by the Arabs on the East Coast. In fact, as pointed out by Captain Sullivan before a select committee of the House of Commons in 1870 (?), they actually after more than one Act of Abolition carried on slavery, resorting to all sorts of tricks and cunning devices to escape stigma, in case their cargo fell into the hands of British pilots. Some of these devices were to convey the slaves in Arab dhows under Arab flags, and to give the slaves spurious passports on which was written "Free Negro."

It is this post-emancipation slavery that Livingstone spent his life to suppress. From the outset—from Portugal's prosperous days of Henry the Navigator to her fall—there was in the Portuguese methods that anomaly of conversion of the African to Christianity side by side with his enslavement. In the East as in the West, they encouraged slavery from the outset.

Abolition.—The spirit of the Abolition of Slavery is coeval with the History of Slavery itself, and in every nation engaged in the trade, there were those who not only doubted the legitimacy and propriety of slavery, but spoke their doubts loudly. It was, however, reserved for the latter part of the eighteenth century to give a form and quickness to the doubts, which, after gradually accumulating for three centuries, were at last to burst forth and command attention. It cannot, we believe, but be a cause for self-depreciation, for a sense of self-degradation and a feeling of deep contrition, in an honest Britisher to realise the immorality to which his country descended when it took to man-stealing and man-selling. It cannot, we presume, but be the source of greatest pleasure and satisfaction to that honest British heart to conscientiously say that if his Government committed such a great injustice as the practice of slavery, it repented of it to the full, and redressed the mistake as far as possible. For, as the injustice was great, so the correction must have been an arduous task, and, in proportion as this end was achieved, so small or great must be the satisfaction. The blot itself, of course, remains for all time.

When the eighteenth century was nearing its close, Christian Europe, especially Denmark and England, began to be alive to the anomaly of the slave trade. This, in England at least, was, in part, due to the Evangelical Revival. In the history

of Abolition some names of the sons of Britain stand out in shining relief, inscribed for all time in the annals of humanity, names of men who quickened the smouldering movement and roused the Christian consciences. To Granville Sharp belongs the honour of the first place. In 1772 he began his labours on behalf of the Negroes. He defended the Negro, James Somerset, and secured a judicial decision that "Whenever a slave touches English soil he becomes free." Next comes Thomas Clarkson, whose activities were stimulated by the materials for his Latin prize essay, 1785: "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" He devoted himself indefatigably to the Abolition Crusade, and with G. Sharp founded the Association for Abolition of Negro Slavery, and in 1808 wrote the *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*. In 1823 he formed, with others, "The Anti-Slavery Society."

The best-known name in the history of Abolition of the Slave Trade, however, is that of William Wilberforce. In 1788 he entered into his twenty years' campaign against the slave trade, being supported by his friends Sharp and Clarkson, and also the Quakers of England. Again and again did Wilberforce bring the Bill for Abolition before the Parliament; again and again was he doomed to bitter disappointment of its failure, even though supported by such talent as William Pitt, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox. Prior to Wilberforce, one, David Hartley, had brought forward a motion in the House of Commons (1776) that "The Slave Trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." This, the first motion in Parliament on the subject, failed. Like other reformers, Wilberforce and his co-Abolitionists were jeered at and designated by sarcastic epithets. They had opposed to them tremendous odds, produced by usage, prejudice, and, above all, vested interests. Slowly but surely justice asserted itself, however, and first the trade was subjected to severe restrictions and then totally abolished in 1807 by Act of Parliament.

To Denmark belongs the honour of having been the first European country to prohibit slavery in its dominions (1792), but it was reserved for Great Britain to deal the death-blow to the whole slave traffic, not only in her dominions but in those of other nations and countries, like Spain, Portugal, and the Arabs, who clung tenaciously to old customs in spite of changed times and manners. For having prohibited slavery in 1807, Great Britain induced other Powers to do likewise, paying

£400,000 to Spain in 1820, and £300,000 to Portugal in 1836 as an earnest. Great Britain next proceeded to abolish the slave traffic in all her colonies and dependencies ; first in Jamaica and West Indies in 1833, Parliament distributing £20,000,000 to compensate the slave-owners ; then in Cape Colony in 1834, £1,250,000 being distributed among the slave-owners, and finally in India in 1840.

In spite, however, of the magnanimous example set by the British, in spite of the constant appeals against the traffic, slave-holding went on among other nations, and it was not until 1863 that there was emancipation of slaves in the United States, not until 1878 that the Portuguese released their tenacious hold of slave traffic, and not till the close of the nineteenth century (1888) that Brazil, which had been importing African slaves at the rate of 100,000 a year, and which at one time contained 4,000,000 slaves, renounced the slave traffic. In this way, there was a gradual emancipation of slaves, so far as the European Governments were concerned. Some of their subjects, urged on by avarice, might continue here and there the unholy trade, but they did so on their own account, and exposed themselves to penalty. As far as European countries are concerned, the slave traffic gradually died down, though it died hard, and has had loud re-echoes even in the twentieth century.

But the abolition of slave traffic by European powers in their respective colonies and dependencies was only half the work done. In the East, the trade was still very earnest, and had not received any check. The slave market was still open, and as long as there was the demand, the supply was forthcoming. Slave-raiders still desolated Africa, and shipped off cargoes of slaves to the Mohammedan countries, where each slave brought in £30 to £50. It is here that the amends, nay, glory of Britain came in, for the noble efforts she made to suppress the post-Abolition slave traffic on the eastern coast of Africa. The efforts were at first unsuccessful, mainly because they aimed at stopping the supply and not the demand. British cruisers patrolled the seas, keeping watch and ward over African coasts, and many were the slave ships they chased and captured. We have already mentioned some of the cunning methods devised to escape this. The sufferings of the slaves seem at this time to have transcended human belief. We cannot do better than give the picture painted by one,

whose witness is admitted unimpeachable by the world—
Dr. Livingstone :—

The Slave Trade.—“ When endeavouring to give some account of the slave trade of East Africa, it was necessary to keep far within the truth, in order not to be thought guilty of exaggeration, but in sober seriousness the subject does not admit of exaggeration. To overdraw its evils is a simple impossibility. The sights I have seen, though common incidents of the traffic, are so nauseous that I always try to drive them from my memory. In the case of most disagreeable recollections, I can succeed, in time, in consigning them to oblivion ; but the slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night horrified by their vividness. No words can convey an adequate idea of the scene of widespread desolation which the once pleasant Shiré Valley now presented. Instead of smiling villages and crowds of people coming with things for sale, scarcely a soul was to be seen. Large masses of people had fled down to the Shiré, only anxious to get the river between them and their enemies. Most of the food had been left behind, and the famine and starvation had cut off so many that the remainder were too few to bury the dead. The corpses we saw floating down the river were only a remnant of those that had perished, whom their friends, from weakness, could not bury, nor over-gorged crocodiles devour. . . .

“ We were informed by Mr. Waller of the dreadful blight which had befallen the once smiling Shiré Valley. His words, though strong, failed to impress us with their reality. In fact, they were received, as some may accept our own, as tinged with exaggeration ; but when our eyes beheld the last mere dribblets of this cup of woe, we, for the first time, felt that the enormous wrongs inflicted on our fellow-men by slavery are beyond exaggeration. . . . The sight of this desert, but eighteen months ago a well-peopled valley, now literally strewn with human bones, forced the conviction upon us that the destruction of human life in the middle passage, however great, constitutes but a small portion of the waste, and made us feel that unless the slave trade—that monster iniquity, which has so long brooded over Africa—be put down, lawful commerce cannot be established.

“ We passed a woman tied by the neck to a tree, dead. The people of the country explained that she had been unable to keep up with the other slaves in a gang, and her master had

determined that she should not become the property of anyone else if she recovered after resting a time. I may mention here that we saw others tied up in a similar manner, and one lying on the path shot or stabbed, for she was in a pool of blood. The explanation we invariably got was that the Arab who owned the victims was enraged at losing his money by the slaves becoming unable to march, and vented his spleen by murdering them.

“To-day we came upon a man dead from starvation, as he was very thin. One of our men wandered and found a number of slaves with slave-sticks on, abandoned by their master from want of food; they were too weak to be able to say where they had come from—some were quite young.

“I saw another person bound to a tree and dead—a sad sight to see, whoever was the perpetrator. So many slave-sticks lie along our path that I suspect the people here about make a practice of liberating what slaves they can find abandoned on on the march to sell them again.”¹

There was peculiar difficulty in Great Britain stopping slavery outside her dominions in other nations, especially of different and even opposite ethical beliefs, and it was argued by some that such a step would be unconstitutional, especially in view of the fact that slavery among the Moslems was a domestic institution, and closely interwoven with their entire social system; a few even represented the slaves as quite happy away from their homes, completely forgetting, or imputing exaggeration to Livingstone's statements as to the circumstances of their capture—namely, indescribable sufferings, thirst, starvation, sickness, torture, and piecemeal death, and that for every slave landed in Turkey, Egypt, or Arabia, four died an unnatural death, and in other routes only one slave in nine reached his destination. These observations of Livingstone were confirmed in every particular by his successor, H. M. Stanley, and, later, by Cameron, Sir Bartle Frere, and Vice-Consul Elton.

As a result of the unceasing appeals of Livingstone and Stanley for Britain's interference in the interests of justice and humanity, the British public and Government was at last roused, and in 1872 Sir Bartle Frere was sent to East Africa with orders to

¹ Cooper's *The Lost Continent*, pp. 86-88.

put a stop to the slave traffic by treaty with, or pressure on, the Sultan of Zanzibar. He carried with him the following letter :—

“ EARL GRANVILLE TO SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

“ Foreign Office, 9th Nov. 1872.

“ SIRE,—This letter will be delivered to your Highness by Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and a Member of the Council for India, who has been deputed by Her Majesty the Queen to proceed on a special mission to your Highness, to make known to you the views of Her Majesty and her Government on the question of East African Slave Trade, and to invite your Highness to join with them in framing measures which shall have for their object the complete suppression of the cruel and destructive traffic.

“ Your Highness cannot but be aware of the deep interest taken by the Queen and people of this country in the suppression of the slave trade, nor in the sacrifices which have been made, both valuable life and treasure, to attain this desired end.

“ Not more than twenty years ago the traffic in slaves was carried on by powerful nations from the West Coast of Africa to a far greater extent than it now obtains on the East Coast, when as many as 60,000 to 70,000 slaves were exported to countries on the other side of the Atlantic in a single year.

“ Her Majesty’s Government and people of this country were determined that this traffic should cease. They therefore maintained a powerful squadron on the coast engaged entirely in the suppression of the traffic, and, by remonstrating with the Governments of those countries whose subjects were engaged in the traffic, and by making treaties with the Governments in question, binding them to use their best exertions to put a stop to the slave trade, and to punish severely their subjects who might engage in it, the end which Her Majesty’s Government had in view was attained, and they can now point to the West Coast of Africa and say that while a few years since slaves were carried away in tens of thousands, now not a single slave is exported, and in the place of this inhuman traffic, which was carried on by means of wars undertaken in the interior with the sole object of procuring slaves, a flourishing legal trade has everywhere arisen, which the native chiefs and all who

were formerly engaged in shipping slaves now acknowledge is far more profitable than man-stealing and man-selling.

“What Her Majesty’s Government, under most adverse circumstances, has succeeded in accomplishing on the West Coast of Africa, it is equally their object to effect on the East Coast; and, on the part of Her Majesty’s Government, I have therefore to invite your Highness frankly and cordially to join them in framing measures which shall effectually put a stop to the illegal export of slaves from any part of your dominions.

“Should your Highness, as Her Majesty’s Government confidently trust you will, join with them frankly and cordially in carrying out efficient measures for putting an end to the export of slaves from your dominions in Africa, your Highness may reckon on the friendship and support of this country, and of the Government of India; but should, on the other hand, your Highness decline the terms, which will be submitted to you by Her Majesty’s Envoy, your Highness may be assured that, however much Her Majesty’s Government may regret your decision, the objects which they have in view will none the less be pursued.—I have, etc. (Signed) GRANVILLE.”

Such a letter left the Sultan in no doubt as to its meaning, and, in the following year, he entered into a treaty to prohibit the slave trade in his dominions. To this treaty he conformed, and he carried out his stipulations as far as it lay in his power. Unfortunately, however, the treaty prohibited the export of slaves *in the Sultan’s dominions* only, and did not touch inland slave traffic by the Arabs, and so they opened inland roads northwards, and so exported slaves from Pemba and Lamoo, outside the Sultan’s dominions, for Egypt, Turkey, and Persia, as before. In 1874, a year after the treaty, Vice-Consul Elton stated that the slave traffic was undiminished, and counted 4096 slaves in one month passing between Dar-es-Salaam and Kilwa. His observations were confirmed by Colonel Cameron.

The one and only thing that was to end this surreptitious traffic was the partitioning of Africa. For, as the European Powers have extended their Protectorates, as ultimately to divide almost the entire continent of Africa between themselves, they have done much, if not to abolish, at least to greatly lessen the slave traffic, either from conscience or from fear of having to answer to Europe. This statement need not be, nor is it intended to be, a justification of the partitioning of Africa by the nations

of Europe. The greatest calamities often bring some form of blessing with them in accordance with the "Law of Compensation."

We have said, however, that re-echoes have arisen from time to time even in spite of this united action of abolition. The best-known example is that of the Congo State rubber atrocities, which were perpetrated under the rule of King Leopold of Belgium. All that it is politic to say is that, by a system of forced labour and collective punishment on the Congo Bantu Negroes, the various Chartered Companies perpetrated crimes like flogging, maiming, and shooting man, woman, or child in cold blood with impunity. These abuses have been ably put before the British Government and public by British travellers and writers, like Mr. Edmund D. Morrel in his book, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, and Captain G. Burrows in his book, *The Curse of Central Africa*, and to these we must be satisfied to refer those desiring more information on the subject.

Another example of the survival of slavery is that of forced labour in the Portuguese possessions, namely, the Islands of St. Thome and Principe, where Negroes are compelled to cultivate so much cocoa per head, the whole system being slavery in all but name. These abuses have been pointed out by Joseph Burt (in 1908), who says, "I saw lean and scared natives, slaves in all but name, tottering under heavy loads. In places the ground was strewn with shackles. Dread of the slave being over the people like a cloud." Since the last visit of Mr. Burt, great improvements are said to have taken place, largely as a result of the scheme initiated by Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey, whereby a Consul-General was appointed by the Government to superintend the consular posts in West Africa and report fully on the conditions of the labourers under contract, their recruitment and repatriation.

"Great improvements are unquestionably shown to have taken place, and in final despatch, dated 30th October, 1916, Consul Hall expressed the opinion that they might without exaggeration be said to constitute 'a revolution' since 1908, when Messrs. Cadbury and Burt visited the islands, and that the time had come for British firms to resume the purchase of cocoa.¹ At the same time, certain points emerge from the

¹ Messrs. Cadbury Brothers and other British firms had boycotted Portuguese plantations.

published consular despatches which show that continued vigilance must still be exercised and anxiety felt, and we can by no means go so far as to be satisfied that all the conditions can be described in Mr. Balfour's words to the British Minister in Lisbon as 'entirely satisfactory.' Notably may be mentioned the admittedly high mortality among labourers, the way in which the labourers are recontracted, and the still slow rate of repatriation which leaves not less than from 15,000 to 25,000 of the originally recruited 'old type labourers' or 'slaves,' as Consul Hall frankly calls them, still on the islands."¹

Mr. M. Max Horn, lecturing to the Royal Society of Arts on the Economic Development of the Congo in March, gave a distinct assurance that the Leopoldian system of granting powers of administration to private companies (with such deadly results) would never again be carried out. The Belgian Government, Mr. Horn said, considered it their fundamental duty to administer the Congo for the benefit of the people, of whom the natives formed an enormous majority. The old land system had been cancelled and all concessions but three have been rescinded. The natives are now said to have the free disposal of the soil, as well as of the natural products of the land of the State.²

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY

Effects.—The moral and economic effects of slavery on the enslaver as well as the slave cannot be overlooked. For as to the former, how have great empires like that of Rome in ancient times passed like a leaf on the stream? How have prosperous countries like Portugal in modern times become disorganised? How much of their crumbling has not been the direct result of that moral inertia and corruption, economic embarrassment, and decay born of slavery? These and similar questions we must leave to the reader to answer. For it is true of nations as of individuals, that slavery corrupts masters and lowers their moral sense. These effects are well summarised by Montesquieu as follows:—

"Slavery is not good in itself; it is neither useful to the master nor to the slave. Not to the slave, because he can do nothing

¹ *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, July 1917, p. 33

² *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, July 1917.

from virtuous motives. Not to the master, because he contracts among his slaves all sorts of bad habits and accustoms himself to the neglect of all moral virtues. He becomes haughty, passionate, obdurate, vindictive, voluptuous and cruel. It is impossible to allow the Negroes are men, because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed we ourselves are not Christians ! ”

On the slave, slavery has the effects that can almost be felt on looking into Africa. The most degraded people in this dark continent are those who have suffered most from the ravages of slave raids. Slavery, by precluding individual existence, produces the worst type of man.

The slave, in constant subjection, with no independent existence, becomes a perfect machine. For him there is no voluntary formation of habits of industry, and being constantly forced to work, industry becomes a abomination in his sight. The constant degradation he is subjected to prevents the feelings of self-respect under these conditions and the evolution of a moral character. Economically, it is only too obvious that a person who is counted with the brute creation cannot be said to have any economic outlook.

Apology.—Like other practices, pursuits, and theories, slavery has had and still has its defenders and apologists. The arguments produced are generally learned but are nearly all based upon antiquity. We are reminded, for instance, that Greek philosophers approved of the practice. Aristotle, for instance, declared slavery natural and necessary and was beneficial to both parties if wisely regulated. That ancient nations—Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews—all kept slaves. Some add that God himself appointed Negroes to be slaves, for these are the cursed progeny of Ham—predestined to be the servants of servants, and in enslaving them the enslaver is but a divine instrument, carrying out the purposes of the All-wise and good God.

Others, who do not thus appeal to antiquity, point at the Negro and say : “ He is attached to his master as a dog, and makes a good servant.

“ The Negro, in general, is a born slave. He is possessed of great physical strength, docility, cheerfulness of disposition, a short memory for sorrows and cruelties, and an easily aroused gratitude for kindness and just dealing. He does not suffer from homesickness to the overbearing extent which afflicts other peoples torn from their homes, and provided he is well

fed he is easily made happy. Above all, he can toil hard under the hot sun and in the unhealthy climate of the torrid zone," and so forth, *ad nauseam*.

It would be superfluous to comment on those wise observations. It seems unlikely that the evolving intellect of men, the spread of Christianity, increasing civilisation—all with a tendency to exalt right over might, intellect over force—should go plump wrong in its views on slavery, a system all subversive of that simple law on which peace and goodwill depends—Do unto others as you would they do unto you.

“Men of high intelligence may plagiarise from the Greeks and apply their doctrine of the dominion of intellect over brute force to the case of the white and the Negro. But they know that the white stooped to the brutality of the Negro in the act of capturing him; increased his brutality in the process of holding him, found his interest in warring against intellect in those whom he possessed, therefore gradually lost all feeling and the difference between intellect and mere force in himself. Let us make all possible excuses for those who purchased slaves or received them by inheritance; but the arguments from reason and religion must be regarded as altogether *ex post facto*.”¹

¹ F. D. Maurice's *Social Morality*, p. 83.

CHAPTER XV

THE PAST OF THE BANTU—A RETROSPECT

WE have come to the end of our consideration of the Bantu in their primitive condition; that is, before their coming into contact with the more advanced races of Europe. It will be convenient if the facts that have been observed are now passed over in review. In this review we shall take as our pattern, solely for the sake of comparison, a quotation reproduced at the end of this chapter.

The history of the Bantu, it has been observed, is shrouded in hazy mists. Their cradle can only be vaguely guessed at, their migrations are largely a surmise devoid of all historical certainty. This has come about from want of historical records resulting from their ignorance of letters. Indeed, oral history was, and still is extant. It has been received by each generation from the preceding and intrusted to the succeeding generation, but such history, with all due reverence to the wonderful memory of the national historians, could not in a generation go much upward of, if even as far as, a hundred years preceding, nor could the "records" be termed trustworthy, owing in part to lapse of memory, and in part to the fact that among barbarous, as among civilised people, there is an irresistible temptation to minimise or entirely suppress defeats in war and to magnify and greatly exaggerate victories. Only the royal genealogies were kept with any pretence to accuracy. "Without any species of writing, no people have ever preserved the faithful annals of their history."

Of progress the Bantu had made but little, a very natural result of their lack of acquaintance with writing, that motive force of progress. They were, in the true sense, a stereotyped people, satisfied with only the imitation of their ancestors and no more, entirely ignorant of the useful arts of life, content

with the most meagre means of existence. Their habitations were huts constructed for no more than keeping out the sun, the wind, and the rain. Their garments were karosses and brayed skins of animals—just enough to keep them warm in cold weather, while in hot weather the minimum of dress was used. The wealth of the Bantu consisted of cattle, sheep and goats, which formed also the currency and provided them with milk and flesh. Game and antelope, with which South Africa abounded, furnished food and sport. The Bantu were tillers of the soil, but the tilling was of the most primitive kind, and done on a scale no more than enough to keep the tribe in food for a short time. Further, the work fell to the lot of women, whilst the men, who were bloodthirsty warriors, were away fighting, or, in time of peace, hunting, basking in the sun, gossiping, or drinking *bojaloa*—beer made from millet (*Sorghum caffrorum*).

No accumulation of stores nor preparation against unfavourable seasons was practised by the tribes. This would undoubtedly result in part, from the constant state of warfare, making easily movable property—herds and flocks—alone desirable, or at least convenient.

Strenuous or sustained labour was unknown to the Bantu, for food was, on the whole, easily procurable, Nature being bounteous in their land, and also, other tribes could always be raided and despoiled, if scarcity or inclination so suggested.

The fertile plateaux of Southern Africa were used by the Bantu far more for grazing purposes than for cultivation. The people were ignorant, indolent, and careless of time. The only metals known to them were iron and copper, and these were worked in the crudest manner imaginable, the former for making spears and assegais, and the latter for trinkets and ornaments. The rich diamond fields of Kimberley (Griqualand West), and the wonderful gold fields of Johannesburg (Witwatersrand) lay undisturbed by the surrounding and inhabiting Bantu.

The polity of the Bantu was a primitive patriarchal system, more or less autocratic according to the tribe, and the will power of the supreme chief. The civil institute of *boguerá* served for initiating full-grown youths into man's estate, and recognised full membership of the tribal state. The religious system consisted chiefly in the fear of demons, the belief in ghosts and belief in the possibility of divining the will and intentions of spirits, and of controlling and utilising them.

Polygamy was practised. The tribal laws were customary.

Such were the primitive Bantu. Ignorant of peaceful arts, they were devoted to military practice, and so were a race of warriors. If the reader will now read the two parallels at the end of this chapter, he will be struck with the resemblance.

So backward and degraded were the Bantu, shortly before their contact with the Europeans. They were, however, manifestly not savages, according to the proper use of that word, seeing they cultivated the soil, kept and raised cattle, sheep, and goats, had a rudimentary knowledge of metals and of working them, and had a form of government, etc.

Whether, left to themselves, the Bantu could have independently raised themselves from this utter degradation and ignorance is a question that need trouble us but little, especially in view of the fact that those who inquire into these things are not agreed as to whether there is or there is not such a thing as "independent civilisation." Some scientists hold that civilisation can only, must always, come from without; that progress can only be achieved by contact with a more civilised race. Thus Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, says in *Whately's Political Economy*, p. 68:—"We have no reason to believe that any community ever did or ever can emerge, unassisted by external help, from a state of utter barbarism unto anything that can be called civilisation."

On the other hand, other scientists, equally eminent, as stoutly maintain that it is possible for a people to advance independently, to raise itself from a state of barbarism into that of civilisation, without any external help. Lord Avebury, one of the stout supporters of this theory, states in *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 507: "There are strong grounds for concluding that from the condition of utter barbarism, various races have independently raised themselves."

Be that as it may, certainly in the case of the Bantu, from a popular point of view, it would seem that so long as they were left to themselves their history of progress was *nil*; it could be written in one word—"stereotypy" or "stagnation." Through these long centuries, in which other nations have risen and fallen, the Bantu seem to have remained an indolent, lethargic, and dreamy race of men, and their history one dull, dreary, featureless scene of barbarism and incompetence, with only enough knowledge to provide for the barest and most immediate necessities of life.

The cause of this stationary or, at best, only slightly pro-

gressive state, would be hard to accurately determine. It may be assumed that several factors worked together to that end, among the chief of which is geographical environment. Africa with its rigid, mountain-rimmed coast, its cataractous rivers, its burning deserts, its swamps and its fevers, must have, by forbidding earlier contact of the Africans *inter se*, the north with the south, and also isolating them from the progressing world, prevented civilisation from within itself and from without.

Other races have been equally barbarous, but are now at the head of civilisation, while this one, the African, the Bantu race, has remained where it was—in its infancy and barbarism.

Or have the Bantu retrogressed? Do they not, perchance, represent a race who, having evolved at some previous time, have now at a later time undergone reversion, such as may follow a degradation of environment?

It is generally held that the primitive state of man is that of barbarism, in which he has either remained, or from which he has steadily worked his way, through centuries, to civilisation. Many scientists also endorse this popular view. Thus Lord Avebury, in *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 506, definitely states that there are strong grounds for believing:—

1. That the existing savages are not the descendants of civilised ancestors.
2. That the primitive condition of man was one of utter barbarism, etc.

Others, however, maintain a diametrically opposite view, that savage and barbarous peoples have retrogressed from their erstwhile higher state of civilisation, which is the original state of man; for sinking, they argue, is easier than rising, and retrogression easier than progress. And so in his *Principles of Sociology*, p. 109, Mr. Spencer says there are reasons for “suspecting that the existing men of the lowest types, forming social groups of the simplest kinds, do not exemplify men as they originally were. Probably most of them, if not all of them, had ancestors in higher states” of civilisation.

History, of course, abounds with examples of retrogression, whether due to environmental or to cosmic changes. Mighty empires have flourished and then passed away like a leaf on the stream, their greatness vanished like a dream. Some nations, formerly civilised, have decayed and died out, some have sunk to a lower civilisation than they formerly possessed, some have become barbarous and others have merely lost their pride of

place. The rise, apogee, decline and fall of the Egyptian, the Phœnician, the Persian, the Assyrian, the Jewish, the Greek, and the Roman empires, etc., are notorious facts of history.

But is there reason in the case of the Bantu to believe that their ancestors were more civilised than they? Many travellers in South Africa have inclined to this view. Certainly many things, like the working of iron, which the ancestors of the Bantu could do, have, through disuse become well-nigh impossible for their descendants. Then, again, if the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe are, as recent research seems to indicate, of Bantu origin, that will be an additional support to the theory of retrogression of the Bantu.

Apart from these doubtful facts, however, there is no evidence that the Bantu, as revealed in this work, are sprung from more civilised ancestors, who could so completely carry their civilisation with them to eternity, leaving not a single monument in art or science, not even a rude form of writing to indicate that earlier civilisation.

If progress is vibratory or oscillatory, however, it is legitimate to conclude that the black races have had their full range or amplitude of backward oscillation, and that under the more advanced races their pendulum is now making its forward swing. There is, therefore, an upward tendency, and the progress of the backward races cannot but be allowed. How far they will progress is another matter, but there is neither a sociological reason nor an historical precedent to warrant pessimism, much less a dogmatic assumption of the incapacity of the backward coloured races, to do, under favourable circumstances, what has been done. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe in the perfectibility of all peoples.

Consider the subjoined two striking parallels.

TWO STRIKING PARALLELS

The First

“The most civilised nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany; and in the rude institutions of these barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners.

“The Germans in the age of Tacitus (90 B.C.) were unac-

quainted with the use of letters ; and the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilised people from a herd of savages incapable of knowledge and reflection. Without that artificial help, the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas intrusted to her charge ; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers ; the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid and irregular. . . . Without some species of writing, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences, or ever possessed in any tolerable degree of perfection the useful and agreeable arts of life.

“ Of these arts, the ancient Germans were wretchedly destitute. They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and poverty, which it has pleased some declaimers to dignify with the appellation of virtuous simplicity. Tacitus asserts, as a well-known fact, that the Germans, in his time, had no cities . . . their edifices were not even contiguous or formed into regular villas ; each barbarian fixed his independent dwelling on a spot to which a plain, a wood, or a stream of fresh water had induced him to give the preference. Neither stones, nor brick, nor tiles were employed in these slight habitations. They were, indeed, no more than low huts of a circular figure, built of rough timber, thatched with straw, and pierced at the top to leave a free passage for the smoke. In the most inclement winter, the hardy German was satisfied with a scanty garment made of the skin of some animal. The nations who dwelt towards the north clothed themselves in furs, and the women manufactured for their own use a coarse kind of linen. The game of various sorts with which the forests of Germany were plentifully stocked supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise. Their monstrous herds of cattle, less remarkable indeed for their beauty than for their utility, formed the principal object of their wealth. A small quantity of corn was the only produce exacted from the earth ; the use of orchards or artificial meadows was unknown to the Germans ; nor can we expect any improvement in agriculture from a people whose property every year experienced a general change by a new division of the arable lands, and who in that strange operation avoided disputes by suffering a great part of their territory to lie waste and without tillage.

“Gold, silver, and iron were extremely scarce in Germany. Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those rich veins of silver which have so liberally rewarded the attention of the princes of Brunswick and Saxony. Sweden, which now supplies Europe with iron, was equally ignorant of its own riches; and the appearance of the armies of the Germans furnished a sufficient proof how little iron they were able to bestow on what they must have deemed the noblest use of that metal. The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins, chiefly silver, among the borderers of the Rhine and Danube, but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money, carried on their confined traffic by the exchange of commodities, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases, the presents of Rome to their princes and ambassadors. . . . Money, in a word, is the most universal incitement, iron the most universal instrument, of human industry; and it is very difficult to conceive by what means a people, neither actuated by the one nor seconded by the other, could emerge from the grossest barbarism. If we contemplate a savage nation in any part of the globe, a sinful indolence and a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. In a civilised state, every faculty of man is expanded and exercised and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and embraces the several members of society. The most numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labour. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can, however, fill up their time by pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures, and even the follies of social life. The Germans were not possessed of these varied resources. The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle, were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slaves. The lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure hours, consumed his days and nights in the animal gratifications of sleep and food. And yet, by a powerful diversity of nature, according to the remarks of a writer who had pierced into its darkest recesses, the same barbarians are by turns the most indolent and the most restless of mankind. They delight in sloth, they detest tranquillity. The languid soul, oppressed with its own weight, anxiously required some new and powerful sensation; and

war and danger were the only amusements adequate to its fierce temper. The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear. It roused him from his unconquerable lethargy, gave him an active pursuit, and by strong exercise of the body and violent emotions of the mind restored him to a more lively sense of his existence. In the dull intervals of peace, these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking; both of which, by different means—the one by inflaming their passions, the other by extinguishing their reason—alike relieved them from the pain of thinking.

“Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from wheat and barley, and corrupted (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus) into a certain semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery. Nor did they endeavour to procure by industry the materials of an advantageous commerce. . . . To solicit by labour what might be ravished by arms was esteemed unworthy of German spirit. The same extent of ground which at present maintains in ease and plenty a million of husbandmen and artificers was unable to supply a hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple necessaries of life. The Germans abandoned their immense forests to the exercise of hunting, employed in pasturage the most considerable part of the lands, bestowed on the small remainder a rude and careless cultivation, and then accused the scantiness and sterility of a country that refused to maintain the multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of famine severely admonished them of the importance of the arts, the national distress was sometimes alleviated by the emigration of a third, perhaps, or a fourth part of their youth. The possession and the enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a civilised people to an improved country. But the Germans, who carried with them what they most valued—their arms, their cattle, and their women—cheerfully abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest. . . . The German tribes were contented with a rude but liberal outline of political society. As soon as a youth born of free parents had attained the age of manhood he was introduced into the general council of his countrymen, solemnly invested with a shield and spear, and adopted as an equal and worthy member of the military commonwealth.

“The religious system of the Germans (if the wild opinions

of savages can deserve that name) was dictated by their wants, their fears, and their ignorance. They adored the great visible objects and agents of Nature—the sun and the moon, the fire and the earth—together with those imaginary deities who were supposed to preside over the most important occupations of human life. They were persuaded that, by some ridiculous arts of divination, they could discover the will of the superior beings—such was the situation, and such were the manners, of the ancient Germans. Their climate, their want of learning, of arts and of war, their notions of honour, of gallantry and of religion, their sense of freedom, impatience of peace and thirst of enterprise, all contributed to form a people of military heroes.”¹

The Second

(3rd Century.) “Of the temper and life of the English in this older England we know little. But from the glimpses that we can catch of it when conquest had brought them to the shores of Britain, their political and social organisations must have been that of the German race to which they belonged. . . . There is no ground for believing them to have been very different in these respects from the other German peoples. . . . The religion of the English was the same as that of the rest of the German peoples. The energy of these peoples (English) found vent in a restlessness which drove them to take part in the general attack of the German race on the Roman Empire. For busy tillers and busy fishers as Englishmen were, they were at heart fighters, and their world was a world of war. Tribe warred with tribe, and village with village, even within the township itself feuds parted household from household, and passions of hatred and vengeance were handed on from father to son. Their mood was above all a mood of fighting men, venturesome, self-reliant, proud, with a dash of hardness and cruelty in it, but ennobled by the virtues which spring from war, by personal courage and loyalty to plighted word, by a high and stern sense of manhood and the worth of man. A grim joy in hard fighting was already a characteristic of the race. War was the Englishman’s ‘shield play’ and ‘sword game.’ The gleeman’s verse took fresh fire as he sang of the rush of the host and the crash of its shield-line. Their arms and weapons, helmet and mail shirt, tall spear and javelin, sword and seax, the short broad dagger that hung

¹ Gibbon’s *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

at each warrior's girdle, gathered to them much of the legend and the art which gave colour and a poetry to the life of Englishmen." ¹

(5th Century.) "Gildas accuses the sinful luxury of the British people; of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stones, or weapons of iron for the defence of their native land. . . .

"The independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original barbarism from which they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the rest of mankind, they soon became an object of scandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world. . . . The wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and their herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was sometimes esteemed, or rejected as foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica: but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children. Their disposition was rash and choleric; they were bold in action and speech, and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. . . . One of the greatest English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain, and Henry II. could assert from his personal experience that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors who encountered without fear the defensive armour of their enemies." ²

¹ Green's *History of the English People*.

² Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

PART III.—THE PRESENT

CHAPTER XVI

MISSIONARIES

ONE of the most potent forces, if not actually the most potent force, of Christianity as a religion is due to the theological maxim of the entire self-negation of its Founder—the laying aside of His glory, the leading of a mortal life of constant persecution, and, finally, Calvary—all for others. Even those who deny the divinity of Christ, but grant His identity as an historical truth, agree that for its moral teaching, as shown in the life of Christ, the Christian religion far nonplusses many other religions, more ancient and more recent, and holds place with the best conceptions of moral laws.

Now, no greater praise can be accorded any man than that he denies himself for the good of others. Altruistic motives and practices are respected all the world over and regarded as the highest pinnacle of human nobility. No greater satisfaction can, we presume, be felt by a Christian than his personal conviction, and the world's warranty and confirmation that he imitates Christ in self-sacrifice, honesty of purpose, and unswerving belief. Thus it is that the missionaries will ever be worthy of the highest respect among all sane people. Their self-denial must, and does exercise a reflex influence on all Christians and non-Christians. These men of God have left their homes—with all that that means—and gone out to heathen and savage lands at the risk of their lives from inhospitable climates, savage animals, and sometimes hostile men, prompted by the lofty desire to bring others to Christ, and point to the lofty significance of existence by placing before

their eyes the principles of manhood as exemplified in His peerless person. The missionaries have gone forth in obedience to that last injunction on the Mount of Olivet—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to all men." Thus obeying the precepts, and imitating the example of their Head, they ever assert eternal Providence and give emphatic vindication of the divinity of their mission and of Him they serve.

"Pity," said Dr. James Stewart, "is not a primary missionary motive of the highest class, but it can well be joined to the highest motive—loyalty and love to Jesus Christ."

Besides being evangelists and civilisers, the missionaries have also been, in South Africa at any rate, the political champions of the Bantu. For them they have interceded and conferred with Governments from the beginning of missionary work to this day. They have stood up for the rights of the primitive peoples even at the risk of their own popularity and, one may even say, safety. The deportation of George Schmidt—the first missionary to set foot on South Africa—by the Dutch Cape Government in 1743 was mainly due to his championing the rights of the Hottentots as human beings, and this was, of course, the greatest affront to the Dutch.

In 1801–2 Dr. J. Vanderkemp, agent of the London Missionary Society, founded Bethelsdorp Institution for the education of the Hottentots. The colonists were not disposed to hear of such a thing. They declared the institution encouraged laziness, and put ideas into Hottentot heads. They insisted on the inmates of Bethelsdorp being *forced* into service. In 1809 Colonel Collins, who had been appointed Commissioner to report on frontier districts, visited Bethelsdorp, and the following dialogue passed between him and Dr. Vanderkemp:—

Commissioner.—Will you, sir, agree to send over to Uitenhage Hottentots whose services may be required by the magistrate—Major Cuyler?

Vanderkemp.—No, sir; to apprehend men as prisoners and force them to labour in the manner proposed is no part of my duty.

Commissioner.—Do you not consider it your duty to *compel* the Hottentots to labour?

Vanderkemp.—No, sir; the Hottentots are recognised to be a free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose than you have to sell them as slaves.

Commissioner.—Will you agree to prohibit Kaffirs from visiting your institution and send such as may resort to you, under pretext of coming for instruction, as prisoners to Uitenhage?

Vanderkemp.—Sir, my commission is to preach the Gospel to every creature, and I will preach the Gospel to every one who chooses to hear me. God has sent me, not to put chains upon the legs of Hottentots and Kaffirs, but to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.

But the missionary best known in connection with this political defence of the Bantu of South Africa was one Dr. John Philip, a Scotsman, who was sent to South Africa in 1819 as Superintendent of the London Missionary Society stations. He was not long there before the inhumanity with which the Hottentots were treated by the colonists struck him as barbarous, unlawful, and unchristian. A scholar and a Christian, he placed the matter vividly and even dramatically before the British public and Government in England. Dr. Philip demanded for the coloured people "Bare human rights and freedom." Because he had done this for those who could not do it for themselves, and was heard by the enlightened British public, he was accused in South Africa of having overstepped his missionary duties, he was criticised virulently by South African white opinion and press, and opprobrious epithets were levelled at him. The struggle resolved itself into two hostile camps. represented by the Cape Government, its political writers, and oppression on the one side, and Dr. Philip, his missionary brethren, and humanity on the other, and so earnest was the contest that its embers are to this day quick. The Rev. John Moffat says of Philip: "Perhaps a test of the depth and reality of the influence he exerted is to be found in the fact that for many years he was the best-hated man in the Colony—hated, that is, by those who were not the friends of the natives. He united a clear and scholarly mind with a will as firm as the granite of his native land, and he fought the battle for the native races at heavy odds. . . . His record is on high and can never be forgotten there."¹

¹ J. S. Moffat's *Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*.

The Rev. John Mackenzie, also of the London Missionary Society, missionary and statesman, has left a mark in the political history of South Africa and its native people. He advocated the appeal of the Bechuana to the British Crown for protection against the raids and encroachment of the Transvaal Boers, and later the contemplated occupation of their land by the Chartered Company of Rhodesia. As a result, the London Convention of 1884 declared a Protectorate over Bechuanaland.

The facts are fully laid out in Mr. Mackenzie's work *Austral Africa*, in two volumes.

Robert Moffat was born of pious Scotch parents at Ormiston on the 21st December 1795. In 1815, as gardener, he came under the influence of Wesleyan Methodist preachers, who "quickened to life the seeds sown by his parents in earlier years." This was his calling, and he soon after offered his services to the London Missionary Society for missionary work in foreign fields. In 1817, at the age of twenty-two, he sailed for South Africa, and duly landed at Cape Town, and in the following year began his missionary duties among the Hottentots in Great Namaqualand. About ten years later Moffat crossed into Bechuanaland and settled at Kuruman among the Batlaping, whom he found grovelling in the densest darkness imaginable. After many dangers and disappointments, but never-failing faith and fervour, he was able to see the fruits of his labours, and in time Kuruman—the erstwhile pandemonium—became a luminous centre of Christian activity.

In 1838 Moffat began his great work of translating the Bible into Sechuana, the joint language of Batlaping people. First he translated the New Testament, and in 1857 the entire Bible.

His work was much appreciated in England, and when he came home in 1838 he was given an enthusiastic reception. During this visit he met Livingstone, then studying in London, and told him of the wide scope there was for missionary work in South Africa. The following year he returned to the mission field, where it was his pleasure to welcome Livingstone shortly after, namely, in 1840.

At the advanced age of seventy-five, Moffat retired from

missionary work and with his wife sailed home after fifty-four years of work in South Africa. His work at Kuruman was continued by his son, the Rev. John Moffat. In 1872 the University of Edinburgh conferred on the veteran missionary the degree of "Doctor of Divinity," and the following year he was presented with a purse of over £5000 by his friends, in recognition of his fifty-four years of missionary work in South Africa.

Moffat died at Leigh, near Tunbridge, on the 9th August 1883, and was buried at Norwood.

Robert Moffat and his wife, and their son, did much for the Batlaping, by whom they were much beloved. Moffat reduced their language to writing, and was occupied to his last years revising the Sechuana Bible. He wrote *Labours and Scenes in South Africa*. In his honour there was established a school—the Moffat Institute—at Kuruman.

The best-known name in the annals of African explorations and missions is that of *David Livingstone*, who may fitly be called The Apostle to the Bantu people, for what Saint Paul was to the Europeans in the first century of the Christian era, what Saint Patrick was to the Irish in the fifth century, and what Saint Columba was to the Scotch in the sixth century, that Livingstone was to the Bantu of South and Central Africa in the nineteenth century.

David Livingstone was born at Blantyre, a few miles south of Glasgow, on the 19th March 1813, of Highland parents, who brought him up in the fear of God, being themselves strictly pious. From ten to twenty-four years of age he worked in a cotton factory in his native town, but found time to learn Latin at the same time in his spare moments. It was at the age of twenty that he was kindled with a desire to be a missionary, and he resolved to obtain a training in theology and medicine. In 1836 he was able to enter the University of Glasgow as a medical student. Two years later he offered his services to the London Missionary Society. After two years' further training in the London hospitals he obtained a Glasgow University medical qualification. It was during his stay in London that he met Robert Moffat, home from South Africa, and was attracted by him thither, so that in 1840 Livingstone set sail for South Africa, landed at Cape Town, and proceeded

to Kuruman (Moffat's station in Bechuanaland). After a short time there he penetrated further north into unbroken ground, and settled first at Mabotsa, among the Bakhatla people. It was during his stay here that he had a dramatic escape from an enraged lion, evidences of which he carried to his grave.

In 1844 he married Rev. R. Moffat's eldest daughter, Mary, whose perfect knowledge of Sechuana (language of Bechuana) and "hereditary" missionary spirit were to prove of such valuable assistance. Livingstone next went to settle at Chuane among the Bakwena, and converted their chief Sechele. The Transvaal freebooters were very hostile to the new mission, and when, later on, the chief Sechele moved his headquarters to escape the Boers and also the prevailing droughts, Livingstone, accompanied by Mr. Oswell, proceeded northwards, discovering on his way, in 1849, Lake Ngami—2000 feet above the sea level, 100 miles in circumference.

In 1851 Livingstone proceeded further north and reached the country of the Makololo, ruled over by Chief Sebitloane. Proceeding still north, he for the first time came face to face with that diabolical traffic in human flesh—the Slave Trade—ever afterwards to be his inspired mission to destroy. This he decided could best be done by opening the country to legal trade. From this date, Livingstone figures forth as an explorer.

He set forth with some Makololo men in the westerly direction, and after six months of incredible difficulties, sickness, and perils, he reached Loanda on the Atlantic coast. After recruiting their strength, Livingstone and his men started for Quilimane on the Indian Ocean coast, exploring the Zambesi from source to outlet, and thus discovering the now celebrated Victoria Falls. Livingstone was the first white man to cross Africa from coast to coast, and that was done for the most part on foot. He described the geography of the country traversed, enumerated its tribes and expatiated on its products and possibilities.

From the east coast the doctor sailed for England after seventeen years' absence, and his reception at home proved how much his work had been appreciated throughout the civilised world. He was hailed as missionary, explorer, geographer, and honours showered upon him. He had accomplished so much with so little resources that he fully deserved

the respect and honour shown him, and yet with characteristic humility he constantly repudiated his merit to the nation's honour. "For my own part," he said in his speech at Cambridge, "I have never ceased to rejoice that God has appointed me to be a missionary. People talk of the sacrifice I have made in spending so much of my life in Africa. Can that be called a sacrifice which is simply paid back as a small part of a great debt owing to our God, which we can never repay? Is that a sacrifice which brings its own blest reward in healthful activity, the consciousness of doing good, peace of mind, and a bright hope of a glorious destiny hereafter? Away with the word in such a view and with such a thought! It is emphatically no sacrifice. Say rather it is a privilege. Anxiety, sickness, suffering, or danger now and then, with a forgoing of the common conveniences and charities of this life, may make us pause, and cause the spirit to waver and the soul to sink; but let this only be for a moment. All these are nothing when compared with the glory which shall hereafter be revealed in and for us. I never made a sacrifice."

During his fifteen months' stay in the United Kingdom Livingstone published his first book—*Missionary Travels* (1857). In the following year he went back to Africa. He had found that further connection with the London Missionary Society would hamper his work of exploration and the suppression of slavery, and had duly severed his connection with that body. He was appointed British Consul for East Africa and Commander of the Expedition for exploring Central Africa. This expedition explored the Zambesi, the Shiré, and the Rovuma, and discovered Lakes Nyasa and Shirwa. In the neighbourhood of Nyasa and Shirwa Highlands (Magomero) Livingstone and Bishop Mackenzie decided to plant a station of the Universities Mission, but unfortunately the Bishop died very soon after. This, added to the hostile policy of the Portuguese (who owned the seaboard) and their encouragement of the slave traffic, led to the failure of the mission in Nyasaland. (After two or three more attempts at planting the mission in various places, Bishop Tozer established it on Zanzibar Island.) In that same year (1862) Mrs. Livingstone, who had only lately come from England with the Rev. James Stewart, died of fever, and was buried at Shupanga.

The expedition was recalled in 1863, but Livingstone remained behind and explored Nyasaland on foot. He returned

to England again in 1864 by way of Bombay, whither he navigated himself. Arrived in England, he published his second book, *The Zambesi and its Tributaries* (1864), in which he exposed the slave traffic carried on under the Portuguese flag.

In 1866 Livingstone bade farewell for ever to his native soil and re-entered the Dark Continent, where his heart ever was. He had now a commission from the Royal Geographical Society. He once more entered the "Lake district," and amidst hardships and sickness penetrated to Lake Tanganyika, discovered Lakes Mweru and Bangwelo in 1869, and explored the Upper Congo. In extreme want and weakness he returned to Ujiji (on Lake Tanganyika) for rest. Here he was found by H. M. Stanley (November 1871), who had been sent out by the *New York Herald* to look for him. The following year Stanley, failing to persuade Livingstone to return with him, left alone for England. The great explorer was bent on finishing his work.

Worn out with fever and dysentery, Livingstone died the following year, 1st May 1873, at Ilala. His faithful and sad-hearted Bantu followers and friends, after earnest consultation, disembowelled his remains and buried the internals under a tree on which they cut :

Dr. Livingstone, died 4th May 1873.

His body they embalmed, and carried it a distance of 1000 miles on foot to Zanzibar, the sad march occupying them nine solid months. From the coast the worthy remains were conveyed to England and buried on the 18th April 1874 in "Westminster Abbey—that Valhalla of the greatest and best of Britain's sons, in which there is no name more worthy of the nation's honour than that of David Livingstone." The coffin bears the inscription :—

DAVID LIVINGSTONE,
Born at Blantyre, Lanarkshire, Scotland,
19th March 1813.
Died at Ilala, Central Africa,
1st May 1873.

Over the grave there was laid a black marble tombstone, bearing the following inscription in gold letters :—

BROUGHT BY FAITHFUL HANDS
OVER LAND AND SEA
HERE LIES

DAVID LIVINGSTONE,

MISSIONARY,

TRAVELLER,

PHILANTHROPIST,

BORN MARCH 19, 1813,

AT BLANTYRE, LANARKSHIRE.

DIED MAY 1, 1873,

AT CHITAMBO'S VILLAGE, ILALA.

FOR THIRTY YEARS HIS LIFE WAS SPENT

IN AN UNWEARIED EFFORT

TO EVANGELISE THE NATIVE RACES,

TO EXPLORE THE UNDISCOVERED SECRETS,

TO ABOLISH THE DESOLATING SLAVE TRADE

OF CENTRAL AFRICA,

WHERE WITH HIS LAST WORDS HE WROTE,

“ALL I CAN ADD IN MY SOLITUDE, IS,

MAY HEAVEN'S RICH BLESSING COME DOWN

ON EVERY ONE, AMERICAN, ENGLISH, OR TURK,

WHO WILL HELP TO HEAL

THIS OPEN SORE OF THE WORLD.”

“OTHER SHEEP I HAVE WHICH ARE NOT OF THIS FOLD:
THEM ALSO I MUST BRING, AND THEY SHALL HEAR MY VOICE.”

“TANTUS AMOR VERI, NIHIL EST QUOD NOSCERE MALIM,
QUAM FLUVII CAUSAS PER SECUA LATENTES.”

James Stewart was born of Scottish parents on the 14th February 1831, in Edinburgh. His mother is described as having been “a saintly woman” and his father “a deeply religious man.”

In 1850, at the age of twenty, he entered the University of Edinburgh, but removed after two sessions to St. Andrews with his aunt, and there entered the St. Andrews University. After two more sessions here he was back again in Edinburgh. Here

he now entered "New College" as a divinity student (1855-1859). In 1859 he also began his medical classes. He formed a large circle of friends and acquaintances, by whom he was much respected.

From his early years, Stewart's heart was set on Africa, whither he always expressed a desire to go as a missionary. Now he was particularly impressed by the work of Livingstone in Southern and Central Africa, and after that missionary's return to England, his series of addresses in London, appealing for missionaries to the Dark Continent, and his book, *Missionary Travels* (1857), all fired the already ardent missionary spirit of Stewart, and soon after, as a student, he originated a movement—The New Central African Committee—whose aim and object was to turn Livingstone's discoveries to practical account by establishing a mission in Central Africa. He began—like honest leaders—by volunteering in 1859 to go out as a missionary to the districts explored by Livingstone. His next step was to raise funds for the mission, and in so doing he did not spare even his patrimony and his family plate.

In 1860 Mr. Stewart was licensed to preach the gospel by the Free Church of Scotland. The following year he went out to Africa by way of inquiry. He sailed with Mrs. Livingstone, who was going to rejoin her husband, then exploring the Nyasa districts. Stewart was cordially welcomed by Dr. Livingstone in Central Africa, and between the two there sprang up the greatest respect and friendship. When in April 1862 Mrs. Livingstone was carried away by the fever, Stewart took charge of the burial ceremony and comforted the bereaved explorer.

From 1862 Stewart explored the Nyasa Highlands on both sides of the Shiré River, and also the district around Blantyre, and penetrated the Zambesi up to Senna, all "with the most praiseworthy energy and in spite of occasional attacks of fever," as Livingstone said. In 1863 he went to Mozambique, preparatory to returning to Scotland. He was worn out, and "more like a bag of bones than a man." On his way home he paid a cursory visit to Kaffraria in South Africa.

Writing from Shupanga in 1862 to the Foreign Missionary Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, Livingstone said: "From all I have seen and observed of Mr. Stewart, he seems to have been specially raised up for this work and specially adapted for it. . . . To such a man, I would boldly say, 'Go forward, and with the divine blessing you will succeed.'"

Stewart's two years' experience in Central Africa had confirmed him in his desire to go out as a missionary. He shared Livingstone's belief that the one way of successfully combating the slave traffic was by opening up the country and establishing mission stations.

Having returned to Scotland, he went to the University of Glasgow to complete his medical studies begun in 1859 and interrupted by his African journey. In 1865 Stewart was ordained by the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow, and in 1866 he qualified in medicine in the Glasgow University. The same year he married Mina Stephen, daughter of a well-known Glasgow and Aberdeen shipbuilder, and the following year, his Church being not yet prepared to found a mission in Nyasaland, Rev. Dr. Stewart went to South Africa and joined the staff of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, founded in 1841. Three years later he became its principal. It was from that date that this missionary school obtruded itself into notice. The new principal was such a gifted educationist, a devoted worker and inspired organiser, that in 1874 he received a petition from the Fingoes in the Transkei for a similar institute to Lovedale amongst them. Towards the erection of the buildings the Fingoes themselves raised above £4500, and in 1877 the institute was opened and named Blythswood.

In 1874 Dr. Stewart visited his homeland and took part in the burial of Livingstone in Westminster Abbey (18th April 1874), meeting his companions J. Kirk, J. Walker, and Young, with whom he had stood round the grave of Mrs. Livingstone in Central Africa. One month later he proposed to the General Assembly of his Church to plant a mission in Nyasaland, to be called Livingstonia. For this £20,000 was soon collected, and in 1876 Stewart went to Central Africa with other pioneer missionaries to found the mission. He took charge of the new station for fifteen months and then left the work in the hands of Dr. Laws, who was destined to become "the greatest man in Nyasaland." Stewart then went south of Lake Nyasa and spent a few months in helping to establish another mission which was named Blantyre, after Livingstone's native town.

These missions are to-day large and flourishing centres of evangelistic, educational, industrial, and medical effort among the Bantu of Central Africa, and new branches have sprung up in all parts of the radius of the original Livingstonia Mission. It is peculiarly appropriate that at Chitambo, 250

miles west of Lake Nyasa, in the centre or heart of Africa, where Livingstone's heart lies buried, there a mission has been planted with a nephew of Livingstone as one of its missionaries.

Stewart returned to Lovedale in 1877 to take care of his special work there. In 1890 he came to Scotland, and between 1892 and 1893 he gave lectures on Evangelistic Theology to the divinity students of the Free Church in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. In 1893 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow. He then went back to South Africa.

The following is a list of his works :—

1. *Lovedale Past and Present*, 1887, a scientific and effective defence of the missions.
2. *Lovedale Illustrated*, 1894.
3. *Livingstonia ; Its Origin*, 1894.
4. *Kafir Phrase Book and Vocabulary*, 1898.
5. *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, 1903.

Dr. Stewart died at Lovedale on the 21st December 1905, and was buried on a neighbouring hill (Sandile's Kop) on Christmas Day. His death cast a gloom over the Bantu, whom he so dearly loved and was in turn beloved of them, throughout the length and breadth of Southern Africa. They now called themselves orphans, their dear Somgxada (as they called the doctor) was no more.

On his tomb are engraved the simple words—

JAMES STEWART, MISSIONARY.

A monument has been erected to him on Sandile's Kop.

CHAPTER XVII

MISSIONS ¹

MISSIONARY enterprise in Southern Africa may, for practical purposes, be regarded as dating from the occupation of the Cape by the British, first temporarily in 1799, and then finally and permanently in 1806. This passing of the Cape to Britain coincided happily with the wave of philanthropy and altruism that was then sweeping over the United Kingdom, soon to be followed by wonderful missionary zeal and activity.

The Dutch East India Company, which dominated the Cape prior to the British occupation, had not been enamoured of missionary work among the primitive people of South Africa, and their attitude (the Company's) was, without doubt, a damping agency and barrier to missionary activity in Southern Africa.

The evangelisation of the peoples of Southern Africa has been carried on by several missionary societies, each planting itself in one or more localities. It will be convenient to consider these missionary societies in the chronological order of their operations among the South African peoples.

The Moravian Church of Saxony was the first missionary society to send agents to South Africa. Its first agent was George Schmidt, who landed at Cape Town in 1736. He immediately proceeded to Baviaan's Kloof, beyond Cape Town, and founded a congregation among the Hottentots. Schmidt had only been seven years at work when the Dutch Government banished him. His sole crime was that he preached the Gospel. How dare he preach the Gospel to such *Schepsels* (creatures)! Such a step might give them notions of their claim to humanity.

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for most of the material for this chapter to Dr. Stewart's book, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*.

Schmidt was, like other apostles, ridiculed and derided by the Dutch, and in 1743 they deported him to Batavia. After a lapse of fifty years another missionary was sent by the Society to revive Schmidt's work. He re-established the mission, changed the name to Gnadendaal (Vale of Grace), and, though harried and harassed by the Dutch, greatly expanded it into a brilliant source of light.

“ In distant Europe oft I've longed to see
 This quiet Vale of Grace ; to list the sound
 Of lulling brooks and moaning turtles round,
 The Apostle Schmidt's old consecrated tree :
 To hear the hymns of solemn melody
 Rising from the sequestered burial ground ;
 The blind restored, the long oppressed set free.
 All this I've witnessed now, and pleasantly
 Its memory shall in my heart remain.”

PRINGLE.

The Moravians (or United Brethren, as they are officially known) are allowed to be possessed of a Christian zeal and missionary enthusiasm which stands easily first among all Christian bodies. Their practical religion has been remarked by all. They adhere to their principles—Let us begin by reforming ourselves, and live in love with all the brethren and with all the children of God in all religions.

The next society to enter South Africa was *The London Missionary Society*, which was thus the first of the British missionary bodies to undertake the evangelisation of the people of South Africa. Its first representative was Dr. Johannes Vanderkemp, described as “ sceptic, scholar, linguist, cavalry officer, and, finally, missionary, and a very distinguished personality in each capacity.” Vanderkemp landed at Cape Town in 1799, and proceeded to Xosa-land with a view to labouring among them, but the unsettled state of the country forced him from Ngqika's (a Xosa chief's) land. He now betook himself to Graaff-Reinet, and began work among the Hottentots, establishing the station of Bethelsdorp in 1801. He had little peace from the Dutch colonists, who averred that the mission station was a nursery of laziness and rebellion. With this as a pretext, the Hottentots were taken away by force and apprenticed.

After Vanderkemp followed Robert Moffat in 1817, Dr. John Philip in 1819, Dr. Livingstone in 1840, and Dr. John Mackenzie in 1858, to mention only the better known of a long list of names. The labours of the agents were among the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Xosas, and the Bechuana.

The efforts of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, as in many other lands, have been unsurpassed by that of any other society. Its fields of operation have been varied and extensive, its agents have included men whose names shine illustriously in the annals of missions. From South Africa the society extended its operations up to Central Africa, where the agents died in rapid succession, but the posts were no sooner vacated thus, than they were filled by fresh labourers.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was the third, in point of time, to enter Southern Africa. The pioneer of Wesleyan missions in the sub-continent was Barnabas Shaw, who landed at Cape Town in 1814. He proceeded to Little Namaqualand and opened a station among the Hottentots. The Rev. W. Boyce, one of the earliest Wesleyan missionaries, was the first to produce a Xosa grammar, while the Rev. W. Appleyard, besides issuing a complete Xosa grammar, achieved the monumental work of translating the Bible into the Xosa language.

The Wesleyans extended their settlements throughout Cape Colony, and northwards, among the Xosas, Bechuana in Bechuanaland and Transvaal, the Zulus in Natal, and Matabele in Rhodesia. By 1832 they had organised a South African Wesleyan Conference. From the outset they have, more than any other Church, ordained Bantu ministers, evangelists, and now the numbers of their Bantu congregations are enormous.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has also done much for the *education* of the Bantu. The Society has established several large institutions for the education of the Bantu youth and their instruction in civilised arts. The largest and better known of these training schools are Healdtown, Bensonvale, and Clarkebury.

The Wesleyan missions in the Transvaal, Rhodesia, and Bechuanaland are still under the direction of the headquarters at "home," while the rest in Cape Colony, Orange Free State, and Natal are governed locally by the Colonial Conference.

The numbers of the Wesleyans to-day in South Africa are, according to the 1917 conference returns : 95,206 Church members ; 41,247 members on trial ; 37,197 catechumens ; 278 ministers ; 271 evangelists ; 4233 local preachers ; 8385 class leaders ; 877 Sunday schools, with 42,871 scholars and 3035 teachers ; 952 day schools, with 64,180 scholars and 1961 teachers ; 10 industrial and training institutions, with 1828 pupils ; 1402 churches and 2697 other preaching places ; and, according to the last Government census for the Union, a community of 536,419 adherents of the Methodist Church.

The Church of England was represented in South Africa by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose work among the Bantu began in 1821. With it are closely associated the names of Bishops Gray and Callaway. The Society has training institutes in Cape Colony for Bantu education, the better known of which are at Keiskama Hoek and at Grahamstown. The better-known Church Missionary Society has directed its efforts mainly beyond Southern Africa, Uganda being one of its chief fields of operation. There it was that their able worker, Alexander Mackay, won for himself the reputation of "that Christian Bayard" and "the best missionary since Livingstone."

The Scottish Presbyterian Missions in Southern Africa date from 1822, the pioneer agents having been Revs. W. R. Thomson, and John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society. Two years later they were joined by Rev. John Ross, also of the Glasgow Society. All three started work among the Xosas, but the missions soon increased in number and spread through Cape Colony and Natal.

The Scottish missions have given much attention to the education of the Bantu. They possess the largest mission station, perhaps, in the world, certainly in Africa. This is, of course, Lovedale, with which is inseparably connected the name of Dr. James Stewart. Another of their establishments is the institution for girls at Emgwali, connected with which is the name of Dr. Tiyo Soga, the first son of South Africa to obtain British education and qualification. Dr. Soga studied theology and medicine in the University of Glasgow and went back as a medical missionary to his people, making Emgwali the scene

of his labours. After his death in 1871 his work was carried on by his son, Dr. W. A. Soga, also educated at the Glasgow University.

The American Missions began their evangèlical work in South Africa in 1834. They first directed their efforts to the Zulus, one of the pioneers being Dr. Adams. The agents of the societies translated the Bible into Zulu and prepared Zulu grammars. They have also ordained a large number of Bantu preachers. For educational work, they have established a training school at Amazimtole, and another for girls at Inanda. As the Scottish missions have produced Soga, the American missions have produced John Dube, who studied theology in America, obtaining also a degree in arts. He went back to his people, the Zulus, and established an educational and training school which is flourishing.

Société des Missions Évangéliques of Paris began its work in 1830 among the slave population of Cape Colony, but it is in connection with its work in Basutoland that it is chiefly thought of. The pioneers began their work in Basutoland under the protection of Chief Moshesh, in 1833–34. These pioneers included Messrs. Bisseux, Rolland, Arbousset, Casalis, and Dyke.

The agents of the society have translated the Bible into Sesuto (language of the Basuto), this work being mainly undertaken by Casalis and Mabile. They have also collected a large number of hymns set to Sesuto words. The society's chief educational mission is at Morijah, where valuable work is done.

The German Missionary Societies have also played an active part in evangelising the South African peoples. They were represented by—

1. The Rhenish Missionary Society ;
2. The Berlin Missionary Society ; and
3. The Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society.

The pioneers of these missions began their work in South Africa about 1828, founding stations in Cape Colony, Namaqualand and Damaraland, and also in Natal and Transvaal.

Herr Kronlein, of the Rhenish Missionary Society, translated the Bible into the language of Namaqualand. "German missions," says Dr Stewart, "are conducted on clearly defined lines, and carried through with German perseverance, precision, and tenacity. Their work is mainly evangelistic, and there is an air of simplicity and compactness about it which is perhaps less apparent in other missions."¹

Norwegian and Swedish Missionary Societies first sent agents to South Africa in 1842, and these established stations among the Zulus. The best-known name in connection with these missions is that of Bishop Schreuder of the Norwegian Society.

The Swiss Church has also taken its place beside other Churches in the redemption of South Africa. Its first stations were in the Transvaal and at Lourenço Marques.

The Dutch Reformed Church is perhaps, of all the European religious bodies in South Africa, the one that has done least for the Bantu, and besides mentioning the highly-respected names of the Murrays, especially Dr. Andrew Murray, its Scottish pastor, and the Rev. Mr. Hofmeyer, men possessed of earnest missionary zeal, little more can be said about its missionary achievements in South Africa. In fact the Dutch Reformed Church has "maintained an indifferent, if not adverse, attitude to the Christianising of the natives," and recently it has debarred, by Act of Parliament, all people of "non-European descent" from its membership.

¹ *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, p. 249

CHAPTER XVIII

CIVILISATION OF THE BANTU

To the Bantu, perhaps, more than to any other people, the missionaries have stood for civilisation, Christianisation, and education. In the present chapter we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of the Christianisation and civilisation of the Bantu. In this work the missionaries, as we have said, come first, but there are other forces which have joined in pushing forward this civilisation, and these forces are contained in the contact of the Bantu with the Europeans in various spheres and capacities—that is, not only as missionaries, but also as employers, traders, administrators, and magistrates. The net result is that the civilisation is achieved at once on evangelical, industrial, and civil lines.

Considering the missionaries, who stand first as civilisers, their general plan of work may be noticed, especially as this is not too well known. The missionary, then, arrives among a perfectly barbarous people. He has definite aims, and immediately sets about to attain them. The master-aim of the missionary is to “save souls, by persuading men to admit Christ into their lives, and to give up their sins by living a Christlike life.” In short, his main duty is to preach the Gospel, and see that it sinks deep and soaks into everyday life. To facilitate this, his first step is to train the intellect to render it the more susceptible to the sublime truths which he has to impart, and which, to a raw and void mind, such as a barbarian’s must be, are of needs difficult of comprehension. Thus the missionary begins by teaching the alphabet, and building on it. This training of the mind has another incidental advantage, and that is to open up another avenue for the Gospel, for the man who would otherwise be solely dependent on his ears is thus enabled to read the

Scriptures for himself. In this way a missionary school begins. The missionary, having imparted some spiritual truths to occupy the moral void, and intellectual truths the mental vacuity, next finds occupation for the hands; that is, he gives industrial training so far as he can manage, and, in this way, by encouraging the development of habits of industry, promotes the formation of a sound character. In proportion as these ends are realised, so far is the barbarian weaned from barbarism, so far is he taught self-control, so far is he Christianised, and so far civilised.

It must be observed that, in this, civilisation by itself is not the primary aim of the missionary. That is, he does not set out to civilise. His object is to Christianise, and he believes that in so doing he necessarily also civilises. For while Christianity does not necessarily accompany civilisation, civilisation is a necessary concomitant of Christianity.

This matter is thus briefly stated by Dr. Stewart, whose success as an educationist among the Bantu is a peerless monument. He says: "If possible, we avoid doing things twice. When a man is Christianised, that is when the great change has really taken place in him, he is generally civilised as well."

This lands us on a much-discussed question, namely, Whether the regeneration of the black races—the Bantu especially—is better achieved through secular or through ecclesiastical means? On this question there has been much practical writing, but still more academical theorising. The advocates of secular education claim that the aim should be to make the Bantu, or, as they call them, "Kaffirs," good citizens, and teach them obedience to the law as defined in the statute books; to teach them to work and improve their morals. Some go further, and state that there should be no attempts to Christianise, and that civilisation itself will suffice, that in any case, long lists of baptised and converted "savages" do not necessarily ensure the mental and moral advancement of these people; Christianity only spoils them, and they are worse off after professing than before. They proceed to state that even among apparently civilised and Christianised Bantu there are often relapses into barbarism.

As everybody knows, there is considerable truth in some of these statements, but there is also considerable untruth implied by them in that only part of the truth is told.

The missionary aspect of the story is best stated in Rev. John Mackenzie's words, contained in his *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 342. In answer to the statement that civilisation by itself, without Christianity, can save the Bantu, he says:—

“ Foolish men may flaunt an empty name before us, and affirm that civilisation without religion is enough to bless mankind; and others may have been led into the region of theory in speaking of what religion could do without civilisation. But, as a practical question, in connection with the elevation of the heathen nations, it seems to me a gratuitous thing to separate in theory those things which are never separated in practice. As a matter of fact, religion and civilisation always have gone hand in hand in African missions. The missionary endeavours to introduce and exhibit both in his teaching and his life. Religion is the mistress; civilisation her attendant and servant. . . . Christianity is the leading agent which is silently working the change.”

In the earlier days of evangelical work among the Bantu there were indeed, it is admitted, often lengthy lists of converted and baptised barbarians. Such lists were compiled, it seems, in good faith, and there is no reason to doubt that the missionaries who were responsible for them, and all sympathisers with missionary work, were keenly disappointed and abashed when they found that, after all, there was no inward change in the baptised. But the initial miscalculations, failure to appraise at its right value the task to be undertaken for the first time, inability, from inexperience, to appreciate its difficulties, and, consequently, failures of the huge plans, and disappointments of sanguine hopes—these are not peculiar to missionary work. Mistakes, too, are sign-posts for future guidance, as surely to missionaries as they are to men in other spheres of life, and it is not to be supposed they (the missionaries) are for ever stumbling over the same block. The unmeaning “ long lists ” are a thing of the past.

As to the relapses of the civilised Bantu into barbarism, it is probably, nay it is, true that some of them relapse, but they could never have been rightly called civilised. Further, those who aver such relapses never think of giving even a rough indication of the proportion.

Dr. Stewart, in *Lovedale Illustrated*, quotes a case of the

alleged relapses given by Baron Hübner in his book, *Through British Africa*, in which the Baron says: "It is no rare thing to see pupils who have scarcely left the excellent Protestant Institute of Lovedale relapse into savagery, forget, for want of practice, all they have been taught, and scoff at missionaries." Dr. Stewart's reply to this is: "The genial writer of these words drove past Lovedale one day at the distance of less than two miles; heard something perhaps from his travelling companion on this important question, and yet here we have it in a generalised form, set forth by a man, travelled and cultured, acquainted with European diplomacy, and at one time an ambassador to a foreign Court, as an opinion on the results of missionary work." Dr. Stewart then goes on to show that not more than 4 or 5 per cent. cases of "relapse" occur.

It is impossible to exonerate some of the critics of missionary work and results of wilful misrepresentations. One is driven to such a conclusion, unless one postulates entire unqualification of the critics to say a word on the subject. It should always be remembered, in estimating the results of missionary work in Africa, that the work is comparatively recent, very recent when it is also remembered that it took no less than ten solid centuries to nominally Christianise Europe, minus Russia, Scandinavia, and Spain; that is, ten centuries to Christianise, in name mainly, an area roughly equal to the Congo Basin alone, with superior advantages of communications and facilities of climate. But the most singular discovery is that the Christianised Bantu are worse than their unmodified brethren. It is impossible this can be said in sober earnestness, unless, perhaps, for which there is no excuse, the name Christian is misused or purposely abused. In his *Africa in Transformation*, pp. 104 and 105, the Rev. Dr. N. Maclean observes:—

"The statement which one meets most frequently is that the native Christian is a man less to be trusted than his heathen brother. He is a thief and a liar, and everything that is bad. It must, of course, be admitted that, unless one has the historic imagination, it is difficult to see the work of missions in the right relationship. The growth of a moral sense is the work of centuries. One ought to consider how long a time it has taken to evolve the moral standards of conduct which govern the actions of people at home. In the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, Dion Cassius described a certain race as an 'idle, indolent, thievish, lying lot of scoundrels.' These

are the terms in which the African native Christians are often described in our days. But the race to which the old historian applied the epithets were the English. In the course of many centuries, Christianity has evolved an 'idle, indolent, thievish, lying lot of scoundrels' into that race which to-day prides itself on being the sole possessor of the national virtues in all their perfection. There is no reason to doubt that, in Africa, the same power will at least evolve a better result in the case of the African. If only we remember the pit whence we were digged, we would be less ready to condemn those who are at present being released out of the same pit."

Remarking on the same question, Sir Harry H. Johnston observes :—

"It is an exploded myth by now that mission-educated natives are lazier or more untruthful than pagan or Mohammedan Negroes, or, indeed, than many of the white people around them."

Mr. Bryce also makes a statement which may be quoted: "The Kafirs," he says, "are not such bad Christians as the Frankish warriors were for two or three generations after the conversion of Clovis."

We have no excuse to make for giving so much space to the consideration of missionaries and the results of their work. We do not, in fact, fear that the space given is too much, rather do we fear it is too small. For, to those readers well acquainted with the history of the progress of the Bantu, it will be manifest that the importance of the missionaries, as a single civilising force, cannot be over-estimated. So thoroughly bound up are they with every step the Bantu have taken, or are taking, towards the circle of light, that it would be quite impossible to consider any of those steps without, at the same time, bringing in the missionary over and over again. This, we hope, the reader unacquainted with the facts, may, at least, be partially able to realise and verify when he has read the following chapter on the education of the Bantu. The reader will also see how gratuitous, how utterly idle is the query whether the regeneration of the Bantu is better achieved through secular or through ecclesiastical channels. The probation of the Bantu has been, is, in the hands of the missionaries. No one, no party, no sect has brought forward a more comprehensive and more constructive scheme for this proposed regeneration. The missionary methods are condemned, but no methods are suggested to

replace them. That is the theoretical side of the question. Practically, also, almost all the onus of Bantu upliftment by education is borne by the missionaries. The money comes from *ecclesiastical*, not from *secular* sources. In any case, also, the benefits of purely secular education *for the Bantu* are altogether hypothetical, and will probably remain so for a considerable time.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION OF THE BANTU

PRACTICALLY speaking, the entire education of the Bantu is in the hands of the missionaries. It has always been—the Government having never at any time undertaken the education of any but the European section of the South African population. Various missionary bodies have each their schools for the training of black children. Some of these schools, from humble beginnings have grown into large boarding schools, training institutions, and colleges, and in them the Bantu youth are trained as ministers, teachers, and also in other branches of education.

The larger and better known of these missionary institutions are Lovedale, Blythswood, and Emgwali (Free Church of Scotland); Healdtown, Bensonvale, and Clarkebury (Wesleyan Methodist Church); Zonnebloem and St. Matthew's (English Episcopal Church); Tigerskloof (London Missionary Society); and Morijah (Paris Evangelical Society).

The Government gives a *show* of financial support to these and other missionary schools for the Bantu throughout the length and breadth of South Africa, and in return expects these schools to maintain a prescribed standard of efficiency in their teaching and their staff, and, of course, the schools are examined by Government inspectors. The Government grants to the missionary schools for Bantu education are, however, extremely niggardly, and almost nominal when two factors are taken into consideration, namely—first, the fat taxes which are paid by the Bantu into the Public Treasury; and second, when a comparison is made between the Government grants for European education on the one hand and for Bantu education on the other.

Sir Maurice Evans observes this glaring fact in his interesting

book, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, pp. 97-98. He says :—

“ It will come as a surprise to many to learn that missionary effort is the only force which has yet, in any direct way, attempted the education and uplifting of the Bantu people over a large portion of South-East Africa. Governments have given grants in aid of the work only amounting in all to a niggardly percentage of the direct taxes paid by the natives ; but there are no Government schools, or a single institution in the whole country, run solely by Government for the training of the natives in arts or industry. So that the missionary stands to the native for religion, for education, for all help he may get to make his life cleaner, more moral, and more in keeping with the ideals of the white man at his best.”

A visitor to South Africa could not fail to be struck by the contrast there is between the school buildings for European children and those for Bantu children, especially where they happen to stand side by side. On the one hand the buildings display all the skill of architecture, they conform scrupulously to requirements of public health and science, comfort and art. The outfit is irreproachable. Those are for whites. On the other hand, as often as not, the tin church building, with its forms and seats, is used during the week days as a school-room, the seats serving for desks, or if there is a school building it is invariably a “ poor show ” comparatively and absolutely—corrugated iron, broken floors, old-fashioned creaky desks, bad ventilation, bad light, shameful overcrowding, and altogether “ a point by point ” contravention of hygienic laws. That is what any passer-by may notice. It spells, in short—no Government grants for Bantu school buildings.

Instead of labouring this point of the Government's poor support of Bantu education in so many words, we may state the facts in figures based on the report of the Superintendent-General of Education for 1915, and as tabulated by the *Lovedale Christian Express* of September 1917. The figures present the conditions in the Cape Province, which is the most liberal of the South African colonies in this as in other matters affecting the Bantu.

“ In this article, to show the contrast between the State support of the European education on the one hand and native education on the other, we shall use the method of parallel columns, for the sake of effective comparison and precision.

	European Education.	Native Education.
Estimated European population .	592,000	Native, 2,000,000
Population at school	17·8%	6·8%
Enrolment in 1915	105,742	137,238
	Increase, 3077	Decrease, 1233
Increase in enrolment in 10 years	54%	36%
Total State expenditure in 1915 estimated at	£863,000	£140,000
This amounts per head of population to about	£1, 9s. 2d.	1s. 8d.
Eight years ago the rate was about	16s. 2d.	1s. 4d.
Increase	80%	Increase, 25%
The ratio then was	194d.	to 16d.
To-day it is	350d.	to 20d.
		The ratio is about 50% worse.
Average State expenditure per pupil	£1, 3s. 10d.	£1

“(Note.—The report says: ‘In calculating the Government expenditure, half of the cost of administration is included, though a larger proportion should be charged.’ This refers to European education. It would appear that half of the total cost of administration of education is charged against native education, although the total expenditure administered for natives is only a fifth of what it is for Europeans. But the point is not clear.)

	European Education.	Native Education.
Local rates for education	£51,000	In the Province proper : none. There are no School Boards to collect rates. In the Transkeian Territories, £25,422, 7s. 10d. The comparatively small area in which the natives tax themselves for their meagre education raises from rates nearly half as much as the total amount raised by the large and wealthy Cape Province for their great and expensive education.

	European Education.	Native Education
Local rates per scholar	10s. 9d.	The Transkeian natives raise 8s. 1d. per scholar from rates, each ratepayer contributing 3s. 5d.
Government grants relative to rates	£13, 7s. 8d. to £1.	£2, 10s. to £1.
Number of teachers employed	5290	4003
Average number of pupils per teacher	19.9	34.3
Average salary grant per teacher	£109	£24

“(According to the Administrator’s statement nearly one out of four of the teachers, whose average salary grant is £24, is a European.)

	European Education.	Native Education.
Rent of land and school buildings in 1915	£12,839, 9s. 9d.	£35, 16s. 7d.
Deficits paid by State in 1915	£142,281	£0
Loans on school buildings, 1915	£205,975	£0
School Board administration .	£21,790	£0
Grants for buildings in 1915 .	£114,664	£0
Secretarial expenses	Grants given.	The teachers and missionary superintendents have the privilege of franking their letters to the Education Department No grants.
Grants for travelling expenses of teachers with special qualifications brought from Europe . .	Given.	Not given.
Grants to boarding masters at A1 and other schools .	Given.	Not given.
Salary grants paid on a fixed basis.	..	Salary grants paid on no known basis except in Elementary Schools. (In Lovedale no lady teacher, however high her qualifications or important her work, has ever received a larger grant than £60. We were under the

	European Education.	Native Education.
Salary grants paid on a fixed basis— <i>continued</i>		impression that this was a maximum fixed by some regulation, but we cannot find such regulation.)
Maintenance grants paid on a fixed basis as regards numbers.	..	Paid on no known basis. Ten years ago in the training schools these grants bore a proportion to the relative enrolment. That proportion has been very seriously reduced, and what it is now is not known.

“The points dealt with above by no means exhaust the contrasts that might be presented, but they may serve to show how unfortunate a position native education occupies within the State. We are not concerned at present with the question of how the situation has arisen, although we recognise that it must be judged in respect of praise or blame in the light of the history of its development. What we feel it our duty to insist upon is that, however it has come about, the situation is discreditable, is indefensible, and must be dealt with by far-reaching reform and a new and generous, or at least just, constructive policy if the honour of the Government is to be saved.”

In Natal, the condition of the State support of Bantu education is of course worse.

The non-European population of Natal is 1,000,000. In 1909 there were

178 Bantu schools with an average roll of 12,484 pupils.	
19 coloured „ „ „ „	902 „
35 Indian „ „ „ „	3,245 „
<hr/>	<hr/>
232 non-European „ „ „	16,631 „

The Education grant allowed was only £15,000. The European population of Natal was 100,000. The Government grant for their children was £150,000.

In the Transvaal things are still worse. The non-European

population here is 1,250,000. These pay the annual tax of £1,500,000. There are

230 Government-aided native schools with	9,942 pupils.
179 unaided	5,803 „
<hr/>	<hr/>
409	15,745 „

The Government grant for their education is only £15,000.

In the Orange Free State, so-called, we come to the most shameful condition.

Here the non-European population numbers 350,000. There are 10,000 Bantu pupils. The Government grant for Bantu education is almost nominal.

Such is the remarkable meanness of the Government of South Africa towards the education of the Bantu, a meanness which has very injurious and far-reaching results upon the people groaning under shameful taxations, none of whose proceeds are used for their improvement. The harm thus done in a single year is irreparable, let alone that done in a decade or two. If it is the intention of the Government of South Africa to keep the majority of the Bantu people ignorant, then, certainly, it has set the right way about accomplishing that, for there being no compulsory education, and no Government encouragement, the Bantu children are allowed to run wild and grow up untouched by school-lore. This, as mentioned, is no new state of affairs.

On the occasion of his visit to South Africa in 1903, Mr Chamberlain was conferred with by representatives of the South African Native Congress, who submitted the facts thus to him:—

“The parlous condition of education in South Africa may be judged by the anomalous attitude of former Ministers under Responsible Government towards Native Education. Through the retrograde influence of the Africander and British anti-Native party, the education of the coloured people has been hampered, and the instructions of the Government of the day to the Education Commissioners of 1891, and the findings of the Commissioners of 1896 and 1910 as recorded in the reports of the Education Department, will amply bear out this serious assertion.”

At the present time, under the improved management of the Superintendent-General of Education, the disparity between the

grants allowed per pupil to white and black, as shown by the Education Report, will be seen from the following table:—

	£	s.	d.
First class public schools (white)	3	17	4½
" " " " (black)	0	12	2¾
Third class " " " " (white)	2	1	3¼
" " " " (black)	0	13	3¾

In 1854 there came to South Africa as Governor, Sir George Grey of New Zealand fame, and father of the Maoris. This great administrator was the first to give a practical direction to the education of the Bantu. His aim with regard to the Bantu was their upliftment, morally, spiritually, and materially; his method was industrial education, which, in combination with theological and academic training, he believed was one sure way of developing intelligence and a stable Christian character. With this end in view Sir George Grey encouraged the establishment of industrial schools, or the addition of industrial departments to the existing mission schools, where the Bantu lads could be instructed in the civilised crafts to be carpenters, blacksmiths, and so forth.

The success which has been attained by such combined training of the *heart*, the head, and the hand, is admitted on all sides, and such missionary schools as work on these lines have attracted most attention.

The first and foremost of all is the mission school of the Free Church of Scotland known as Lovedale, already referred to in association with the name of Dr. Stewart.

Lovedale is beautifully and even poetically situated, as it stands in the valley of the Tyumie, embossed in a profusion of trees and encircled by a ring of hills. To the uninitiated this is a serious temptation to misconstrue the name—Lovedale. It lies seven hundred miles east-north-east of Cape Town and eighty miles north of East London. The school was founded in 1841 by the Rev. W. Govan, and was called after Dr. Love of Glasgow, a former secretary of the London Missionary Society, and one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The institute was visited by Sir George Grey in 1855, and he then inaugurated the scheme of industrial training, the school having been exclusively evangelical and educational in its teaching up to this time.

Dr. Stewart became its principal in 1870. From humble beginnings, Lovedale, under his principalship, grew to be the

most brilliant source of light for the Bantu peoples of South Africa. It has been, is, supported financially by the Free Church of Scotland, who govern it from Edinburgh. It is, however, entirely unsectarian, and within its walls all denominations, all nationalities, and all colours are to be found. At one time, as many as fifteen nationalities were represented in it, some coming from as far north as the Nyasa and Shiré districts in Central Africa, and even Gallaland in North-East Africa.

Missionary work at Lovedale is carried on among the Bantu on three main lines—religious, educational, and industrial. Medical work is also done in the Lovedale Hospital, and is an effective means of dealing death-blows at superstition.

Missionaries, preachers, and evangelists are prepared; and teachers and mistresses for Bantu schools are trained and sent out in large numbers every year.

The following trades are taught in the Lovedale Industrial Department: carpentry, blacksmithing, wagon-making, printing, bookbinding, telegraphing, typing, sewing, bootmaking, farming, tree-planting, and road-making.

The aims of the Lovedale Missionary Institution have been thus stated by its late chief:—

We declare plainly that this Institute exists

1. To teach the natives of Africa the religion of Jesus Christ.

We care for books and tools, workshops and class-rooms and field work, only as means to open the mind and develop the character by discipline and industry, and as aids not merely to the more ready acceptance of the truths of the Bible, but to the practical exhibition of these truths in daily life. We try to fit young men and women to become useful and industrious citizens, and to become also missionaries of Christianity and civilisation to other natives of Africa whom they may reach. We believe in conversion, and regard that as the best and highest result of our work.

2. To take young men of intellectual and spiritual qualification and train them to be preachers.

3. To train young men and women as teachers for native mission schools.

4. To give education in various industrial arts, such as carpentering, wagon-making, blacksmithing, printing, bookbinding, telegraphing, and agricultural work of

various kinds to natives, that they may become industrious and useful citizens.

5. To give a general education of an elementary kind to all whose course in life has not been definitely determined.

The education given at Lovedale is necessarily of an elementary character. It begins with the alphabet; then there are six standards succeeded by a three years' teachers' course or a three years' college course, which forms a stepping-stone to university education. Matriculation classes are held at Lovedale and examined by the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

The present principal of Lovedale, Rev. James Henderson, is, like his illustrious predecessor, a talented leader and a versatile organiser, who has the interests of the Africans deep at heart. Through the press and from the platform he is constantly advocating their rights. With his staff he teaches, both by precept and example, the sublime lessons which make for Christianity and civilisation, not the least of which is the respect for manual labour. He is as ready to plough the fields with his boys as to expound Scriptural passages to them, to make roads with them as to construe Latin sentences with them.

The education given in all departments at Lovedale is of a very practical and thorough character. The success of this missionary college and the special adaptation and fitness of its methods for the elevation of the Bantu is admitted by all sane people who know it. The qualifying adjective—*sane*—is used advisedly, for there is a class of people who, from some morbidity of temperament, seem to find pleasure in attempting to ridicule all decency out of the world. Such men will scoff at religion, sneer at philanthropy, and mock at morality. If they don't go so far, they condemn all education; cynicism is the atmosphere in which they flourish. They are coldly critical; depreciation is the burthen of their sad song.

In any country where two races, separated by a wide intellectual gap, live side by side, some members of the more advanced are apt to assume this ungenerous attitude to the efforts of the backward race.

We subjoin the following from the Lovedale *Christian Express* of April 1916:—

“Certain falsehoods die hard. They come up again and yet again in the course of history, as noisome mud is thrown up from

the depths of a stormy sea. Thirty-eight years ago a Cape newspaper attributed the Kaffir War of that time to the teaching given at Lovedale. Some of Dr. Stewart's most scathing articles, written in refutation of this falsehood, may be found by the curious in the pages of this journal. Ten years later in time there was a recrudescence of stock stealing. The drought was exceptionally severe, and the natives were literally starving. But again it was neither drought nor want that was at the bottom of the stock lifting but 'the teaching at Lovedale.' And now the lie, this is its correct name, makes its appearance, of all places, in a Court of Justice, and through the lips of a public officer, of all men. In one of the Johannesburg police courts a native is found guilty of forgery. There are nigh three hundred thousand natives in Johannesburg, most of them hard-working, law-abiding men: many of them Lovedale trained men. Yet in asking for sentence on this one native, with no other offence against him, the public prosecutor went out of his way to say, 'this crime seems to be the result of the education at the Lovedale College.' It is not for us to enquire as to the strange state of mind that lies behind a statement of this sweeping nature. There may have been that itch for saying cynical things that is a feature of some ungenerous souls, who 'without sneering, teach the rest to sneer.' But this we would say, that the circumstance speaks little for the wisdom of the man who made the statement, or for the dignity of the head of the Court who allowed the utterance to pass unrebuked. Fortunately, it has brought out a wealth of sympathy on the part of men whose good opinion we value. The *Johannesburg Star* dealt with the matter in an article which we publish in another part of the magazine."

“ LOVEDALE

“ *A leader reprinted from the Johannesburg 'Star' of 11th March 1916*

“ In one of the Johannesburg Police Courts last week a native was found guilty of forgery. There were no previous convictions, but the Public Prosecutor took it upon himself to remark that 'this (the crime) seems to be the result of education at Lovedale College.' A stupid, stereotyped gibe of this sort will always provoke laughter among Police Court *habitués*, but we venture to suggest that it ill becomes a public official,

or for that matter any responsible person, to associate crime with Lovedale College. It is a slur on the memory of one of South Africa's really big men—the late Dr. James Stewart—who was mainly responsible for the building up of the Lovedale of to-day, and it casts a most unjust and undeserved reflection upon the institution visited by the Prime Minister only a few weeks ago, and to which he paid a memorable tribute. The point may seem a trifle, but we refer to it because one so often hears similar shallow talk among ignorant or unreflecting people. Because once in a while a native, who has received education at Lovedale or some similar institution, is convicted of crime, it is glibly assumed that the exception proves the rule, and that education is apt to turn the native into a criminal. Nothing could be further from the truth. The public note the fact that a particular criminal may be educated: they ignore the fact that the overwhelming majority of native criminals are only 'educated' in the sense that contact with the baser side of our so-called civilisation has corrupted them. A place like Lovedale has in the past fifty years turned out many thousands of natives, the vast majority of whom have proved to be decent, industrious, and law-abiding citizens. A certain number, returning to kraal life, have reverted to semi-barbarism; but very few have brought any other sort of discredit on Lovedale. In addressing the natives on the occasion of his recent visit to Lovedale, the Prime Minister said:—'Without education the best and greatest would be unfitted for the highest services, and yet the world was full of educated men who, by reason of being devoid of moral sense, were useless to God and man. Education without character was a very poor equipment for the battle of life.' Whatever may be said in criticism of some of the methods formerly in vogue at Lovedale, the outstanding merit of that institution is that it aims at training the character of its inmates; teaching them habits of industry, cleanliness, and orderliness; and so establishing a basis of self-respect, without which no real progress is possible among any people. Most natives do not need and do not want what is called higher education, but a certain number, destined to become missionaries, teachers, interpreters, etc., require a thorough educational equipment; and it is infinitely better that they should be able to obtain it in South Africa than that they should cross the sea, and, as not infrequently happens, become imbued with

ideas which tend to make them discontented, unhappy, and troublesome after they return to the land of their birth."

We may now notice the net educational results of the missionary training institutes, a few of which have been mentioned in the foregoing pages. From these schools, besides tradesmen—carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, printers, shoemakers, and so on—large numbers of preachers and evangelists, and teachers by the hundred are sent out every year. Many others, who do not go in for trades, preaching or teaching, go into Government service as interpreters and clerks to magistrates and judges, or into the post and telegraph offices as clerks, letter-carriers, telegram-carriers, and parcel-carriers, or into the railway or police departments. Some become labour contractors, some law agents, and others trade-instructors in mission schools. Some become hotel proprietors and others editors of newspapers. A few cross the seas and enter the professions.

In short, every educated member of the Bantu race, no matter how great or small his education may be, is directly or indirectly a product of the mission school. This is a fact the Bantu themselves need to keep ever before their mind's eye.

From the 1904 Census of Cape Colony, 6000 natives and coloured people were described as doing professional and 20,000 as occupied in commercial work.

CHAPTER XX

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BANTU

THE Native Policy of the European Government of South Africa may, for descriptive purposes, be considered under three periods, which are necessarily not sharply demarcated one from another, but rather overlap and merge into each other.

1. The first period is that of *Non-Intervention*, beginning from the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape (1652) and the British occupation of the Cape (1806), and going on to about the Great Boer Trek (1836) and the formation of British Kaffraria (1846).

2. The second period is that of *Treaty Formation* with various Bantu chiefs, whereby European suzerainty was extended over their territories which were subsequently annexed. This period dates from the Great Trek (1836) and formation of Kaffraria (1846), and goes to the establishment of Responsible Government in 1853 and the Ninth Xosa War (1877) and later.

3. The third and last period dates from the formation of Responsible Government (1853), receives strong emphasis from the establishment of the Union, and continues to-day.

When the Dutch East India Company occupied the Cape in 1652, the one sole aim of the directors was to establish a port of call for their East- and home-bound vessels. The idea of colonisation or territorial conquests never for a moment entered their heads. The dealings of the Company's servants with the native Hottentots were confined to bartering—afterwards to battles and apprenticeship or compulsory labour—but the Dutch officials never seriously thought of legislating for the Hottentots any more than evangelising them. As time passed and the Dutch settlers multiplied and prospered, they became more interested in the land, and gradually they lost connection with the Netherlands and the Dutch East India Company. The

expansion of their frontiers inland met no serious check or opposition till 1745, when they first came into contact with the Bantu, represented by the Xosas, north of the present site of Port Elizabeth. This was to be the beginning of the long series of wars extending over a century, between the blacks and whites in South Africa. The Boers on the one side gave place to the British, against the Xosas on the other side, with the changing of hands of the Cape in 1806. With almost each of the Euro-Xosa Wars, the frontiers of the Cape were pushed out into or towards Xosaland.

Up to the Seventh Xosa War (1846), no attempt had been made on the part of Europeans to place any of the native Bantu tribes under the European rule, but now a new departure was made. The country between the Kei and the Keiskama Rivers on the east was made a British province, and the Xosas occupying it came under the control of a British official. This country was named British Kaffraria and was the first example of a Bantu territory coming under the control of the British Government in South Africa. This step was rapidly followed by annexations of Bantu States to the English State—Cape Colony; thus Kaffraria was annexed in 1865, Basutoland in 1871, Griqualand East in 1879, and Pondoland in 1894. Then there was formation of "Protectorates" over other Bantu States, and treaties were entered into with Bantu chiefs for the maintenance of peace. Much authority was left, however, in the hands of these chiefs, who ruled in conjunction with a British representative. The survival of this treaty system is to be met with in the existing "Reserves," where the Bantu chiefs rule their people and are advised by an Imperial Commissioner.

The original non-intervention policy, was, without doubt, due, in the first place, to a desire to preserve peace by avoiding all meddling with Bantu or native affairs. In the second place, it was perhaps realised by the Europeans that the Xosas as the owners of, or at least the earlier settlers in the country, had the first claim to it. But little by little they lost part of the country in war, and to save further troubles, a policy, as we see in the second period, was tried—namely, that of entering into agreements with the chiefs. This policy was, in part also, suggested by the Great Trek (1834–1838), for the exodus had released the Boers from direct British rule, and these, it was feared, might come into conflict with the Bantu beyond the Cape frontiers, and the British Government it is claimed felt it

their bounden duty to protect both parties—Boer and Bantu. Thus it was that, although by the terms of the Boer Conventions (1852–1854) the British Government undertook not to interfere with the voortrekkers (emigrant Boers) beyond the British frontier, nor with the Bantu, it was found necessary at a later date to reverse the agreements, annex the Boer State of Transvaal in 1877, and upon its retrocession in 1881 to extend protection over all Bantu tribes outside the Boer territories. Thus it was that an attempted occupation of Bechuanaland by the Boers was immediately checked by the Warren Expedition in 1884 and led to the declaration of British Protectorate over the whole of Bechuanaland, at the request of the Bechuana chiefs, and the annexation of part of this land to Cape Colony at a later date.

The third period is that which marks the rise of European Governments in the Bantu States, the gradual neutralisation or absorption of Bantu law and independence, ending chiefly in total loss of identity, and even a condition not far removed from slavery. This period cannot be said to have begun at any particular time or in any particular year. It was a gradual development, and one, too, which varied in the four States of South Africa under European governments, namely Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State. Under these heads, then, the “Native Policy” of the European Governments may be briefly noticed up to the time of the Union of these States, and then a word may be said about the native policy of the Union Government.

Cape Colony is the oldest of the four States of South Africa and one which was mainly British in tone and traditions. It is the one, too, which has witnessed the greatest conflicts of warfare between the blacks and the whites. The Bantu policy of this State was, notwithstanding, the most liberal, logical, just, and humane as compared with the Bantu policy of the other three States. Certainly, the Cape policy at all times recognised that, socially and politically, the Bantu people are in their teens. It made it a point to shape and help on their development by all possible means—education in arts and crafts, instruction in the use of political privileges, exercise of power, and self-government after the British representative system. An admirable example of this is furnished by the Transkei Native Councils devised by Mr. C. Rhodes in his Glen Grey Act of 1894, section 5. The various native districts are each under the control of a Native District Council or Board,

whose members are elected by the people. These district councils each send a representative to the larger or General Council, which governs all the districts, and some of whose members are appointed by the Government.

The General Council has powers of imposing taxation, regulating public works such as the construction of bridges, the making of roads, planting of trees, control of agriculture, licensing of liquor traffic, establishment of schools, control of labour recruiting, and all such matters connected with civil administration.

The policy of the Cape, more than of any other State, aimed at preparing the Bantu for the time when they could take an intelligent part in the government of their country. For, in the old days, a "superstition" was popular that the whites would withdraw after educating the blacks sufficiently for these to control their own affairs. So far as possible, however, the Cape policy avoided all humiliating distinctions based entirely on colour, in its political, legal, and social spheres. This policy was summed up in the famous words of Mr. Rhodes—"Equal rights to all civilised men south of the Zambesi." Much earlier than the time of Mr. Rhodes, a dispatch transmitted to the Cape by the Duke of Newcastle contained the following statement: "It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that all her subjects at the Cape, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty, and we believe that the exercise of political rights by all alike will prove one of the best methods of attaining this object" (1853).

Accordingly, the franchise was open to black and white alike on the same conditions of qualifications, colour or creed being no bar.

Natal.—If now we turn to consider Natal, to all intents and purposes a sister of Cape Colony, inasmuch as, like it, it was essentially British in nationality and traditions and prided itself on the fact, we find a native policy which is not only unlike, but diametrically opposed to that of the Cape. Here we have a policy at once illiberal and illogical, unjust and inhumane, a policy entirely subversive of the British traditions and sense of fairplay, such as we see were more or less adhered to in the Cape Province. In the Colony of Natal, we meet with special laws for "natives"—laws, not simply understood or unwritten but actually codified. Special punishments and penalties are meted out to the Bantu. Acts undoubtedly wrong, but never

deemed criminal in any civilised country—such acts, for instance, as seduction, adultery, and prostitution—are, in Natal, considered criminal *in the natives only*, and they are accordingly penalised for them. Many other obnoxious legal distinctions exist.

In the matter of franchise the Natal Europeans have excelled themselves in ingenuity. What the Boers denied the Bantu in concise, unequivocal terms, the Natalians did by unnecessary parry, circumventing the exercise of franchise by the Bantu with well-nigh impossible conditions. After setting out the conditions and qualifications of the whites, the Natal Constitution goes on to state that, to be eligible as an elector, the person must—(1) Neither belong to a class placed by legislation under the jurisdiction of special courts, nor be subject to special laws and tribunals. (2) Male adult natives who have been registered in the province (or colony) for twelve years, and been exempt from the operation of the native laws and regulations for seven years, and who possess either of the two property qualifications (as for Europeans), may petition the Governor-General for a certificate, the possession of which entitles them to be registered as Parliamentary electors. (*See Appendix, Section C.*)

Drastic as these conditions are, there is, nevertheless, a loophole for escape, but it practically serves no purpose, and the franchise is almost as effectively denied the Bantu as it would be by a few simple words—No votes for natives!

The Boer Republics.—Transvaal and Orange Free State have very much in common. Their origin is similar, namely by settlement of the Trek Boers, and they have passed under the same or similar vicissitudes. They may, therefore, for practical purposes be considered as one.

The reader has had already some glimpses into Boer psychology and their ideas about black folk. All the prejudice that can possess an untutored mind, enhanced by some natural or unnatural tendency and torsion of the soul, inflamed by its earnest ascription to divine source, and quickened by aggression on the part of the object, is to be found in the average vee-Boer. Ever vociferously asserting their rights and claiming liberty for themselves, the Boers systematically forget other people's rights, and flatly deny them liberty. Thus it was that the French Huguenots were prohibited to speak their language, denied their identity and forcibly incorporated by the Dutch Government in 1709; thus it was that the Abolition

of Slavery in 1834 led to the Dutch exodus from British South Africa; thus it was that the British were subjected by the Transvaal Government to humiliating disabilities, with consequent outbreak of the South African War in 1899, and it might reasonably be expected that in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the native policy will be a definite expression of this character. In this the reader will not be wrong. The position is clearly defined and written large on all sides. The merest approach of a black man to the white, and especially to the Boer, is wholly repudiated. The Boers will share nothing with the Bantu, not the land from which they have displaced the latter, nor the government, nor even the Church. Their native policy is briefly and explicitly stated in the Grondwet (or Transvaal Constitutional Law)—“No equality between white and non-white in Church or State.” (See Appendix, Section A.)

Nor does the law remain a dead letter, for it finds logical and very active expression in the every-day life of the Boers. How could it, indeed, be otherwise when the French and the British—both intellectual and social superiors of the Boers by a long way—were placed by Dutch laws under such humiliating disabilities as we have observed!

In the Boer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State there exists also an obnoxious “Pass System”—a system not altogether unwise in its conception and theory, as being primarily intended for the prevention of crime against life and property, and to discourage vagrancy. In practice, however, it is a standing insult to the self-respecting Bantu, and a never-failing excuse for the unscrupulous and bitterly prejudiced European officials for putting “the Kafir in his place”; that is, of embarrassing and insulting the Bantu native with impunity—a veritable pin-prick policy in which the politicians and officials of the Northern Provinces are adept.

Such, in a few words, was the native policy of the South African colonies, or, more correctly, such *was* the native policy of the Cape—benevolent and humane; and such *is* the native policy of the Northern States—repressive and inhumane.

A great desire had been expressed from very early times for the union of the South African colonies. British Empire-makers—Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere, and Mr. Rhodes—cherished the liveliest hopes of the speedy arrival of the day when the Boer

and British States would meet, and the two nations coalesce into one nationality. The desirability of this consummation never seems to have been greater than when the question of Bantu races presented itself, and it did so at every turn and in every Department. For there is nothing on which the South African Government can legislate but it affects or touches the relationship of the two races—the European and the Bantu. Is it Labour, Education, Immigration, Agriculture, Railways, Defence, or Mines, the native element ever comes up unbidden. It was the desire for uniformity of policy in facing this question that was one of the chief causes of the Union of South Africa. Anyone who was acquainted, even distantly, with South African affairs could not be far wrong in prophesying what a union of the three Northern States with the one Southern State would evolve in the way of a native policy. We flatter ourselves that even anyone who has read the immediately foregoing pages with any attention, could predict with some accuracy, the spirit and sentiment of the Union Government on native affairs. Let us recapitulate, even at the risk of boring the reader.

1. The British Cape formula *was*—“Equal rights for all civilised men, irrespective of race and colour”—a formula carried out altogether in theory, and to a great extent also in practice.

2. The Natal formula is briefly summed up—“No votes, no guns, and no liquor for non-Europeans”—and the formula is put into earnest practice.

3. The Transvaal Boer policy is—“No equality between white and non-white in Church or State”—a formula which is carried out in theory and very earnestly in practice, so that the theory actually falls short of the practice.

4. The Orange Free State, in its native policy, is a counterpart, or more properly a prototype, of its Transvaal sister colony.

When the question of the Union of South African colonies was seriously discussed, it did not need one to be a politician or to be gifted with any mental penetrative powers to see how ill it boded for the coloured races of South Africa at large. The fear and anxiety was experienced, not only by the Bantu and coloured peoples, but also by all those Europeans and others who have the interests and welfare of the coloured peoples at heart. Anxiety for them was felt by the liberal sect of the

Cape politicians, by the missionaries, and by some members of the Imperial Parliament—always a jealous guardian of the native peoples of South Africa, until—by some unexplained contingency and ever-to-be-regretted mischance—the guardianship was withdrawn when the Union of South Africa was declared in 1910. All these “Bantuphilic” (using the term with all due respect) parties, nevertheless, vainly hoped against hope, that the rights secured for the non-European population of the Cape by the liberal British Constitution of that colony would be extended to their brethren in the Northern Provinces; that the British Imperial sentiment—so just and humane—prevailing in the Cape Province before the Union, would, after it, be a leaven on the northern sentiment and views, and so bring about a native policy fashioned on the lines of that hitherto prevailing in the Cape; that the franchise would be extended to the Bantu of the Northern Provinces (for one of the reasons of the Union was the desirability of a uniform native policy); that finally, failing all this, the rights and privileges enjoyed by the coloured and Bantu people of the Cape Province would at least be safeguarded. Such were the hopes of the Bantu. Such were the hopes of those who had the interests of the native peoples at heart. What about the Northerners? What was the Republican mind? They feared *lest justice should be done*, and took good care to see that it was not done. The Northerners—Transvaalers, Orange Free Staters, and Natalians—would not hear of franchise for blacks and such trash, and the Union Constitution had perforce to leave the matter of franchise *in statu quo*, in default of a better compromise—franchise for the Bantu and coloured people of the Cape Province, and no franchise for the Bantu and coloured people of Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State—a fine example of uniformity! But that is not all. The anomaly was carried further, and the Republican politicians were not going to come out “quits” in the contest with the Cape politicians, and a purely *status quo* compromise was not enough, therefore the Union Act states that none but parliamentary electors of European descent (that is *pure* European descent) may sit in the Union Parliament, a clause which practically turns to mockery the gift or retention of franchise in the Cape Province to the Bantu.

In short, therefore, the Bantu and coloured people in the Provinces of Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State are unrepresented in the Union Parliament, and those of the Cape

Province are but indirectly represented. The 5,000,000 coloured peoples in the Union have no direct representation, and the 1,500,000 white people have all the representation and say.

When the Union of South Africa was agreed upon and declared, it was welcomed by white South Africa as the beginning of a new and enlightened era. To the coloured peoples it was a death-knell of a long tottering identity. Those of the latter who were—from sanguine temperament and optimistic nature—in any doubt as to the probable *régime* of the new Union Government on the “native question” were soon eased of their doubts, for scarcely was the Union declared than the Union Legislature began its laws, like the Grondwet of Transvaal, by enacting that natives and coloured people will not be allowed to be members of the Dutch Reformed Church. It was but too manifest that the old Republican ideas were to be revived and perpetuated in the “new” South Africa. It was but too clear that the spirit of the new Government would be Republican, and so far as the native peoples were concerned, they might celebrate the obsequies of their rights and their hope for justice. The natural result had come about, namely—the repressive Republican ideas had swamped the liberal Imperial ideals; the three northern colonies—Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal—had triumphed over the one southern colony—Cape Colony—and were henceforward to shape and direct the legislation of the Union Government.

That administration which, based on liberality and justice, had hitherto in Cape Colony, no less than in India, New Zealand, Canada, the West Indies, and other parts of the British Empire, produced records unequalled, much less surpassed, in the history of the administration of subject races in any nation; that native policy of Cape Colony which was rightly and proudly held out to the world as a model of just and enlightened administration; that policy which had won love and loyalty for Great Britain among the Bantu people, who ever ran to her and craved to be let to “hide and rest in the ample folds of the Union Jack”; that administration, in appreciation of which these Bantu have gladly fought side by side with the British to protect the flag; that administration, that policy had terminated, at once, suddenly and abruptly, to be superseded by another—a diametrically opposed policy but under the same flag—which all who have been under must respect, which the Bantu and all coloured people of South Africa loved—the Union

Jack, which to them is synonymous with the worthy name of Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria.

Prior to the Union of South Africa, the native races of the sub-continent, whether in the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, or Orange Free State, were, to some extent, under the maternal care of the Imperial Government. The several Colonial Governments could go a certain length, but no further, in their legislation for the native people. They were held in check by the Imperial Government, who limited their powers in the matter of "laws subjecting non-European people, as such, to particular disabilities."

Under the Union, things are otherwise. Unreservedly, the Imperial Government has handed all South African affairs, including absolute power over natives, to the now entirely self-governing South Africa. That has removed from the native one sole just court of appeal, the fair and disinterested arbiter. Henceforward they must appeal, and that not personally, to those against whom they are aggrieved; if persecuted, they must appeal to their persecutors.

It must be understood that when the Union of South Africa is talked of, it is meant a union of a quarter of the population between itself—the other three-quarters don't enter into it. It is the union of 1,500,000 constituted by the British and the Dutch, and does not include 5,000,000 of the Bantu and the coloured people. Or, as Mr. Keir Hardie remarked in the British Parliament on the Union Bill—"it is the unification of the white races to disfranchise the coloured races, and not to promote union between all races in South Africa."

Exception is generally taken to the word "disfranchise" in this statement, and while it is true that the natives who had a franchise before the Union have still a right to vote, it is equally true that these same natives, while they were eligible to Parliament before the Union, are now debarred, and *a fortiori* those who had no vote—by reason of their colour. For the rest of the statement, it is an accurate and comprehensive definition of the South African Union—a Union dominated by the spirit of the Middle Ages so characteristic of South African Republicanism, and by a feeling of some oblique "divine mission" to exploit the Bantu. One liberal member of the South African Parliament, speaking on a Bill which was calculated to partially enslave these voiceless people, referred to and criticised this spirit as follows: "He believed that there was a feeling that white men had some right to the labour of the black, that the

black people were to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and he wanted to say that while men were obsessed with that feeling they would never be able to legislate fairly. They had no more divine right to the labour of the black people than they had to the labour of the white. To his mind, the great point was—Should their policy be one of repression or one of inspiration? They had inspired the natives to a certain extent, but no sooner had they created an appetite than they told the natives they should go no further. Their policy was a policy of Tantalus. There were those who said that if the natives would not submit to dictation they would be wiped out. But that should not be their policy. They must cease the policy of repression and let it be one of wide inspiration.”

These and many other such words of advice have little or no effect on the tone of the Union Parliament. Justice is disregarded, conscience stifled, Imperial ideals trampled under foot; the new Government in these enlightened days must put the dark days of Republican *régime* to shame in the policy of repression. In this particular case, the honourable member of Parliament above quoted was speaking on the most cruel Bill ever put before Parliament, and, as we have said, calculated to reduce 5,000,000 Bantu and coloured people to the verge of slavery. The Bill became law and is known as the Natives' Land Act, 1913, an Act warmly supported by the Boers—peasant to parliamentarian—and acclaimed as a masterpiece in the annals of legislation. There are some in the late Republics, in Transvaal, yes, and even in the Orange Free State who are worthy and just, and strive to do justice and uphold the Imperial sentiment and high political morality. In fact, the words quoted above are by a representative of a Transvaal constituency. *Per contra*, there are others in the Cape Province, and others in Natal, who stop the voice of justice and uphold old Republican ideas, but on the whole it may be taken as a safe working rule, that whatever measure is suggested, introduced, or warmly supported by the Northerners, that is, in the first place the ex-Republicans, and in the second Natal, any law they are enthusiastic about, that law will be to the prejudice of the coloured people of South Africa, and often at the same time promoting the interest of the small white section of the community. Thus was it that old native Government servants were swept out of Railway Departments, Post Office and Telegraph Departments and the Civil Service, to

be replaced by inexperienced Europeans, and especially Boer servants. Thus it is that if a Parliament member holding the portfolio of Native Affairs has British ideas of Political Morality, he is apt to be replaced by one with Republican ideas, "lest the country should be Anglicised." Thus was it that that Act we have already mentioned, namely, the Natives' Land Act, was passed in the year 1913.

"The Natives' Land Act cannot be allowed to pass without strong opposition from all right-minded people, whether the colour of their skin be black or white. Why Generals Botha and Hertzog should agree in bringing about such repressive legislation while they differ greatly in everything else is passing strange, but the real cause of this unholy alliance must be clear to all in the near future."¹

The Natives' Land Act,² without going into details, aims at reducing the Bantu people to serfdom. It purposes, as one of its movers said, "*to take effective measures to restrict the purchase and lease of land by natives,*" and this it was to do, and in fact now has done, by evicting those natives, nearly a million, who held lands on lease for ploughing and the raising of live stock. They must sell their grain and stock and go into the service of some white farmer. In the words of a member for an Orange Free State constituency, under this Act "*it would be possible for farmers to accumulate on their land as many natives as they could get, so long as they could use them as servants.*"

It is clear, then, that in the Union of South Africa, to live, if life it is, the native must be forced into servitude; by closing all doors to freedom and independence, by refusing to sell or lease land to him, he must be forced into this bondage.

The Act goes on (Section 5 (1)): "Any person who is a party to any attempted purchase, sale, hire or lease, or to any agreement or transaction, which is in contravention to this Act, or any regulation made thereunder, shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months, and if the act constituting the offence be a continuing one, the offender shall be liable to a further fine not exceeding five pounds for every day during which that act continues."

¹ *The Imvo*, 24th December 1917.

² Since the writing of these pages, the Natives' Land Act has been declared *ultra vires*.

In this way the old Constitutive laws of the Orange Free State are revived and applied to all British South Africa under the Union. These laws which, as a member for a Free State constituency said, “told the coloured people plainly that the Orange Free State was a white man’s country, and that they intended to keep it so. They told the coloured people that they were not to be allowed to buy or hire land, and that *they were not going to tolerate equality of whites and blacks.*” The member went on and asked the Union Parliament that “they should tell the native what the Free State told him, that it” —presumably South Africa—“was a white man’s country, that he (the native) was not going to be allowed to buy land there or to hire land there, and that *if he wanted to be there he must be in service.*”¹

The Parliament, as we have seen, took the Free Orange Stater’s advice, with the result of great ruin and incalculable harm to the Bantu.

The following facts are interesting:—

1. The European population of South Africa = 1,500,000.
2. The Native “ “ “ = 5,000,000.
3. The land held by Europeans per head in the Union of South Africa is fifty times the amount held by natives per head.

In Cape Province, native land = 8 acres per head.

In Natal “ “ = 6 “ “

In Transvaal “ “ = 1½ “ “

In Orange Free State “ “ = ⅓ “ “

With thus little, the native may not buy any more land.

Compare we this with the conditions existing in the Southern States of America, the only other place which closely resembles South Africa in its colour problem. Here land is cheap, and the Negro has as much right to land as the white American. He can buy as much of it as he likes. Consider further that South Africa is, or *was* the native land of the Bantu, while the States are not a native land of the Negroes, the former also in South Africa were never slaves, according to the popular acceptation of that word. All the Negroes in America were slaves, or are descendants of slaves. Here then we have a nominally free people in their native land worse off for land than their once slave brethren in a foreign land.

“The price of land in the South States has been low, and to-day it is cheap, and the Negro has had opportunity and still

¹ The italics are ours.

has opportunity to become a landowner. No obstacle has hitherto been put in his way to purchase as much land as he could pay for. *The right to acquire land, without which no people is economically free,*¹ and the economic ability to do so, have been the privilege of the Negro since he came out of slavery. He has been shorn of his rights in many directions, but here, in the right to make a home on his own freehold, perhaps the greatest right of all, he has had as full liberty as the most aristocratic Southerner in the land."²

The best thinkers in South Africa, philanthropists, Imperialists, missionaries, Bantu deputations, all severally advised and pleaded the abrogation of the harmful Natives' Land Act, 1913, but the Government remained obdurate. As a last resort, the Bantu sent a deputation of five men to wait on the Imperial Government and British public in 1914. The deputation was encouraged and helped in London by the leading English papers, religious bodies, brotherhoods, and by the Aborigines' Protection Society. The outbreak of the European War unfortunately interrupted their work and seriously upset their plans, but the very step they had taken was significant. The secretary of the deputation, Mr. S. T. Platje, before returning to South Africa, left a memorandum—*Native Life in South Africa*—stating in an explicit and charming manner the reasons for the deputation, and an account of its work, and appealing to the British public for that help which has always been the refuge of His Majesty's black subjects. This book has been, is, in great demand in South Africa, and signs are not wanting that the cold iron facts, the bitter but incontestable truths it discloses, are showing white South Africa that the Bantu also can feel injustices as well as appreciate kindnesses done them. This is a great deal, especially when considered in conjunction with the report of the Commission on the Natives' Land Act. (See Appendix, Section E.)

Pass Laws.—There exists in the Orange Free State another law which is a disgrace to Free State civilisation, and an abuse of authority. This is a law whereby "no native woman in that State"—erroneously called free—"may reside in a municipality unless she can produce a pass showing that she is a servant in the employ of a white person." The law, it is manifest, aims at reducing the people to bondage. It may only be added that the

¹ The italics are ours.

² Sir Maurice Evans, *Black and White in Southern States*.

most educated and self-respecting Bantu woman on the one hand, and the most reckless and rawest native woman on the other, are treated alike in this matter, or, if anything, the former suffers more at the hands of the law. So outrages have been heaped on Bantu women because they happened to be black. Appeals from them have met a deaf ear. They have had, perforce, to resort to passive resistance, but the Orange Free State, so callous, so truly Republican, so "free" only to the favoured Republican sons and daughters and for none other, the Free State—with apology to the word free—only persecuted them further.

Such, briefly, are some of the aspects of the South African Government. They show that the Government of South Africa is more than anything else an oligarchy, with a privileged few and oppressed many. That of South Africa, as of France under the feudal system, it may be said: "Every man is either a tyrant or a slave."

CHAPTER XXI

THE BANTU AND LABOUR SUPPLY

WE have already mentioned elsewhere that hardly any question arises in South Africa but it must bring in the Bantu. Perhaps none does this more than the question of labour. This fact is a peculiar commentary on the population of South Africa.

While in the British Colonies—Australia, Canada, and New Zealand—unskilled labour is done, as in Great Britain, by the labouring class of white men, things are otherwise in South Africa. There a preponderance of black and coloured population naturally means their monopoly of unskilled labour, and this has been from the earliest times. Now South Africa has, practically speaking, no paupers, black or white, but with its industrial development a class of poor whites has arisen. These people have, of course, been brought up to no technical training in skilled crafts that are supposed to be a particular province of whites in South Africa. It is significant that they flatly refuse to do manual labour, for they call it “Kafir work”—that would be degrading to their caste. To them manual labour and menial labour are synonymous, so they will continue poor rather than do the only work they can do. On the other hand the various training schools furnish many Bantu with training in skilled crafts—we have mentioned Lovedale as a typical example of such an institute. However competent he may be, such a skilled native worker will not be employed by any European firm. He is tabooed all round to force him to unskilled work, and to discourage other natives from learning skilled industries, for by so doing they are encroaching on white province. They are trespassers, and must be treated as such. In spite of stern opposition, however, the natives are forcing back the pendulum.

As to the much-debated question whether the Bantu are lazy as a people—to us it seems there could not be a more needless question in the presence of existing facts, of which anyone can satisfy himself. And yet it is accepted as a gospel truth by many that the Bantu are a lazy, indolent folk. That oft-reiterated phrase, “the lazy Kafir,” is become, with some people, an article of faith. But what are the facts as they stand? The gold mines of Johannesburg and the diamond mines of Kimberley are worked by, and depend entirely on this lazy Kafir. The labyrinth of railways throughout South Africa is constructed by him. He it is that tunnels mountains, breaks down the rocks to make roads. In the farms he is indispensable. By his help all the cities of South Africa are built. The very breath South Africa draws depends on the lazy Kafir’s limbs, for he does the important work connected with transport, loading and unloading of ships. In short, as the South African Native Commission put the matter succinctly, “the native supports the whole economic fabric on his despised and dusky back.”

In his primitive state, it is true, the South African native did not work as strenuously as other people, but that does not necessarily mean indolence. He worked enough to meet his needs. These needs were few, and therefore the work was small. Living in the tropics where exertion is tiring and rest is sweet, where the exuberance of the soil and general munificence of Nature give maximum returns for the minimum amount of work, it is not at all surprising or unnatural that he should have exerted himself but little, for, as Emerson says, “We are all as lazy as we dare.” All people work to meet their several needs, and not for the mere abstract love of work; and whoever looks round about him will observe this fact verified on all sides. It will be manifest to whosoever has studied philosophic history that this is one of those influences which physical laws exercise on national character. In this case, heat incapacitating men for arduous labour, and the bounty of Nature rendering that labour unnecessary, and preventing the formation of industrious habits. It seems therefore a misapplication of the word to call the African in his primitive state “indolent,” when work would be to him gratuitous.

But many people say, and many more believe, that even in his present civilised or half-civilised state, the African is lazy—incurably lazy. Now when we have shown how he supports

the whole economic edifice of South Africa, it seems almost superfluous to produce further evidence to show the idea erroneous. Evidence might be heaped up until it formed an Alps of testimony, to crush all scepticism and to prove the universality of the law of necessity, the reputed mother of invention. For with increasing civilisation the needs of the African have increased, and he must work to meet these needs or perish. He must "struggle for existence." Thus comes it about that he is an important factor in the industrial and commercial development of Africa.

Referring to this question, Mr. Drummond, in his *Tropical Africa*, p. 65, remarks as follows: "In capacity the African is fit to work; in inclination he is willing to work; and in actual experiment he has done it."

The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1905 reported as follows to Parliament: "The theory that the South African natives are hopelessly indolent may be dismissed as not being in accordance with facts."¹

Dr. Livingstone said: "I was so frequently asked, when in England, 'Would these Africans work for one'? Yes, if you could pay them."

Mr. Dudley Kidd says: "While the Kafir differs from Europeans in his ideas as to what constitutes profitable labour, and is much better off in relative riches compared with Europeans, who cannot rest content in what the Kafir considers ample comfort, he is not utterly lazy. The moment there is what he considers an adequate inducement to work he rouses himself and begins."

Sir H. H. Johnston states that, "All things being equal, the Negro is as willing to work for salary as the Asiatic or the European," and believes that the reputed laziness of the Negro is due to the fact that for centuries he has been regarded as "a fit subject to be cheated."

In the last three statements quoted it will be clear that, if there is scarcity of native labour, it is because the pay for that labour is not tempting or is too small, and, of course, "no pay, no work," for while unskilled labour is universally the least paid of work, the fact is even truer in South Africa where that labour is done by the blacks. This is one reason why immigration has failed and been strongly opposed by the interested section of the community, namely the Colonial capitalists and industrial

¹ *South African Native Affairs Commission Report, 1905, p. 373.*

leaders. It would mean the end of cheap labour to them, followed by competition from their former apprentices.

Asiatic Indentured Labour.—In spite of the fact that South Africa has five million Bantu (as against one and a half million Europeans), there has been a scarcity of coloured labour. To meet this state of affairs it was found necessary to enter into agreements with some Asiatic Governments to import Asiatic labour into South Africa. Thus Hindoos were imported from India and engaged by contract to work the sugar, tea, and coffee plantations of Natal, and Chinese brought to Johannesburg to work the gold mines. These facts are often quoted as proofs of the Bantus' aversion to work. But it should be remembered that *capitalists want cheap labour*, and will have it at any price. And if the Asiatic can underbeat the South African native he naturally gets the preference. This is exactly what has happened.

Another important reason, however, is the "fluctuating tendency" of "native labour" in the great industrial centres. Natives go to the mines, that is to say not to settle down as miners for all time, as, for instance, coal miners do in Great Britain. They go only under short contracts of three months, six months, or, more rarely, a year, and as thousands do this there is a constant need for getting new hands, with natural variation of success in this direction, superadded to the trouble of sending "contractors'" or labour agents continually scouring the country. Some of these agents, it appears, have increased their own difficulties by not treating their men fairly, as, for instance, promising large pay and giving little pay, and, sometimes, no pay at all.

The reason for this fluctuation and short contracts is simply that the Muntu (pl. Bantu) is essentially a farmer, agriculturist, and stock-breeder, and even when at the mines, he has, or *had*, often a little land to cultivate and a few animals to look after, and as going to industrial centres put many miles between him and these—his ultimate hope—he entered only into short contracts so that he could return soon, buy some more cows, and settle down on his little plot. Notwithstanding all that has been said, however, there are, on the average, some 200,000 native labourers from all parts of South Africa constantly in the Johannesburg gold mines.

The problem of labour supply in South Africa has given rise to all sorts of suggestions. Some Europeans have strenuously

advocated direct forced labour, others indirect forced labour by high taxation, or by restricting the areas of land which the Bantu native may occupy. For the first proposition, it is, of course, slavery under another name, and, as we have seen, the British Government has discouraged, and is discountenancing the system of forced labour carried on by the Portuguese. The second proposition implies the first, and differs but little from it, for it means economic slavery. We have already seen that by the Natives' Land Act, 1913, areas of land which the Bantu may occupy, whether by purchase or by hire, have been very much restricted to force the people into such serfdom.

In the Glen Grey Act already noticed, there is a clause which makes labour more or less compulsory. It runs: "Every male native residing in the district, exclusive of natives in possession of lands, under ordinary quit-rent titles, or in freehold, who, in the judgment of the resident magistrate, is fit for and capable of labour shall pay into the public revenue a tax of 10s. per annum: Provided that upon any native satisfying the resident magistrate that he has been in service or employment beyond the borders of the district for a period of at least three months during the twelve months preceding the date on which the said tax is to be payable, such a native shall be exempt from payment of the tax for that year; and provided, further, that such a native shall become exempt from any further payment of tax so soon as he shall have satisfied the resident magistrate that he has been in service or employment beyond the borders of the district for a total period, consecutive or otherwise, of not less than three years."

Members of District Councils or Boards, and of the General Council, and also those who are unable to leave the district or are engaged in some local works for three months, are exempt.

Proceeds of the tax are used for native education. The natives, of course, deeply resent this clause of forced labour. How far the reason for this is sentimental and how far practical it would be hard to say. One thing is certain, however, that the system as defined by the Glen Grey Act is comparatively mild by the side of that which obtains in Natal. In this province, according to the special *Native Code*—the only existing statutory laws in South Africa specially for natives—the Governor of the colony is empowered to call upon all able-bodied male Bantu to enter public works, and, in the event of their refusing to do so, to fine them or imprison them. This duty, of

course, falls upon the resident magistrates, who, in practice, carry it out through responsible native heads, such as chiefs, forcing them to get so many men. The wages that the men thus forced into labour get are not *very high*,—ranging about 15s. to 20s. a month, with rations.

The system is resented by the Zulus, and it has at times been necessary to resort to drastic measures.

The arguments for forced labour are very instructive. They claim that the Bantu have been saved extinction by the Europeans stopping their internecine wars; they are *protected* by the British from foreign invasion; they are educated and civilised by British teachers and ruled by British laws. In return for these good services they should be forced to work. These statements are not *unimpeachable*, the deduction is false—a most lame and impotent conclusion—and its sentiment decidedly non-British. Granting the above to be true—why should such unparalleled records be suddenly blotted and soiled by an ungracious act? What good could come of it? what gain to the capitalists and the British Empire? and what to the Bantu? Are the Bantu and other Negroes so utterly brutish that no sense of gratitude for benefits done ever swells in their hearts? Have they not in the past done, and have they not recently in the European war been doing, their best to show their gratitude to Great Britain and show themselves worthy to be saved, protected, educated, civilised, and ruled by this the great Empire of which they, nominally at least, form a part? Not by forced labour could they ever count themselves thus. Benevolence, and benevolence only, has been the impetus to their loyalty. In vain we search histories for an example of any nation benefiting by forced labour.

CHAPTER XXII

BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is not generally known that there exists in South Africa a colour question, one too, of unusual complexity. And it is this question which forms the centre and pivot of the social and political life of everyone, white or black, in South Africa. Until quite recently, namely 1910, the South African race conflict has been dual in theory and practice. It consisted of—

1. Struggles between Boer and Briton.
2. Struggle between Black and White.

The first part of the problem does not concern us in this work, except in so far as it influences the second part. In any case it was always comparatively negligible, and further, by the recent Union of the South African colonies, Boer and Briton have at last merged their political differences to work together as like one nation as their dissimilar temperaments can allow and their common interests demand. No longer now is the cry "South Africa for the Boers" heard; it has given place to another—"South Africa for the white man." The Union is supposed to have been the birth of a new nationality, the amalgamation of Boer and Briton, to work for the common end of white South Africa. So far for the first part of the South African racial struggle. Now we turn to consider the second part, which we call a colour problem, to signify that it is a struggle between the white and the black, and not merely between two nationalities like the Dutch and the British.

The colour problem is peculiar in that it is not merely political but also social. One is struck in this country with the way in which people, even of extensive general information, are apt to minimise the gravity and reality of such a thing as race prejudice, and how entirely they misunderstand its nature, inclining often to discredit any statements relative to any such

feelings. But those who have lived in South Africa or the Southern States of America know the facts. Those who have visited these places have been forcibly struck by the evidence of racial feelings. There is, in all walks of life, a complete separation of the blacks and the whites. The latter hold together, and do not admit into their midst anyone who is not of their colour and race, and resist to the last any attempt of the blacks and others, to associate with them in any way whatsoever. This exclusiveness is in conformity and obedience to a sentiment which has been variously denominated race prejudice, race hostility, race antipathy, colour hatred, and so on.

The reader will perhaps the better form an idea of this sentiment if he will think of the tendency to spontaneous separation, even between civilised nations under normal peaceful circumstances. There are in each nation traits and usages, which may be in themselves quite harmless, and yet they are an aversion to another nation, whose ideas about life take quite a different or even an opposite turn. Take the comments of the nearer European nationalities between themselves. One nation is alleged to be effervescing and unreliable, another stolid, frowning and uncouth, another gay and frivolous, yet another bigoted and fanatic; this, arrogant and conceited; that, uncultured and barbarous. If such intolerance can exist between civilised members of the same stock, how much greater must it be between two nations of dissimilar stock such as the blacks and the whites?—nations, too, in South Africa at any rate, between which there yawns a wide intellectual gulf, two nations differing as much as any two can differ in colour, character, temperament and strength.

“That there should be little community of ideas, and by consequence little sympathy between such a race and the whites is no more than anyone would expect who elsewhere in the world has studied the phenomena which mark the contact of dissimilar peoples. But the traveller in South Africa is astonished at the strong feeling of dislike and contempt—one might almost say of hostility—which the bulk of the whites show to their black neighbours. He asks what can be the cause of it. It seems to spring partly from the old feeling of contempt for slaves, a feeling which has descended to a generation that has never seen slavery as an actual system; partly from physical aversion; partly from incompatibility of character

and temper, which makes the faults of the coloured man more offensive to the white man than the (perhaps morally as grave) faults of members of his own white stock. Even between civilised peoples, such as Germans and Russians, or Spaniards and Frenchmen, there is disposition to be unduly annoyed by traits and habits which are not so much culpable in themselves as distasteful to men constructed on different lines. This sense of annoyance is naturally more intense towards a race so widely removed from modern Europeans as the Kafirs are.”¹

As we wish to impress upon the reader the bitter reality of colour or racial feeling, perhaps he will bear with us if we give one more passage from another historical writer on South Africa. In her book, *South Africa Past and Present*, pp. 243, 244, Miss Violet R. Markham says :—

“No traveller to South Africa can fail to be struck with the intense hostility of the whites to the semi-civilised blacks who live among them. Racial feeling as regards the latter is extraordinarily and, so it strikes one at first, unnecessarily bitter. I hasten to add that this feeling does not find actual expression in ill-treatment, but reveals itself rather by an attitude of overwhelming contempt. Argument as to this deeply-rooted instinct is hopeless. Few people who have lived among Kaffirs can honestly say that it is wholly a stranger to them. The instinctive character of the animosity is, however, a very serious feature in the case where it must be remembered that, for all time, as far as we can judge, the two races must live side by side. People who have never been brought into personal contact with natives entirely fail to grasp the meaning of the words racial feeling. Should its existence be brought under their notice, they protest against it as unworthy and degrading.”

... “It is sometimes supposed that racial hatred goes hand in hand with a wish to oppress. This is by no means the case, for the feeling often springs more from a sense of physical repulsion than from any other impulse.”

Be the case as it may, it seems at least certain that the inter-relation of the white and the non-white races is the most difficult problem which has still to be solved. It is a problem, too, which does not engage the attention that it seems to deserve; it is certainly not overstudied nor too well known.

We shall try and put before the reader in as simple a manner as possible the conditions which seem to influence the state of

¹ J Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa*, p. 442.

relations between the white and the black races, including under the word black not only the Bantu but also the coloured people, or as we have called them Eur-Africans.

There are in South Africa, south of the Zambesi, roughly 7,500,000 people. Of these, 6,000,000 are black and only 1,500,000 are white—that is, the blacks outnumber the whites in the proportion of five to one. According to population, therefore, South Africa is a black man's country so far. Three factors in connection with this fact are important to bear in mind.

1. This proportionately huge number of blacks is not isolated, but, on the reverse, it is in direct continuity with the great reservoir of blacks in Central and North-Western Africa.

2. The blacks and the whites do not necessarily occupy different parts of the country. The one race is not entirely rural nor the other entirely urban, but the two come into contact both in town and country.

3. The Bantu in South Africa form a remarkable contrast to other primitive races, who no sooner come into contact with a higher civilisation than they dwindle and die off. The aborigines of Australia are reduced to a few thousands, the intelligent Maoris of New Zealand are a negligible quantity (45,000) in the population of these (North and South) islands, the North American Red Indians no longer exist as a nation, the Hottentots of South Africa have practically vanished, and the Bushmen exist only in the pages of South African history. The Bantu, however, in common with other Negroes, are extremely prolific, so much so that it has been said that while the whites double themselves in eighty years, and the yellows in sixty years, the blacks will double themselves in forty years. In South Africa, then, all things being equal, the Bantu would number 15,000,000 in forty years.

Compare we also other British colonies elsewhere with South Africa with respect to the numerical ratio of white and non-white populations. First, there is Canada with her 7,000,000, and practically all these are white, being French and Anglo-Saxon, the Red Indians forming a negligible quantity. Next is Australia with her 4,500,000 people, nearly all Anglo-Saxon, the Australian aborigines being negligible. Lastly, there is New Zealand with her 1,000,000 people, nearly all of them Anglo-Saxon, and as we have said before the native Maoris form but a small percentage, numbering as they do only

45,000. Now in all these colonies it may be said that there is no colour antagonism of any intensity. The relations there between the white and non-white races are hardly, if ever, a subject of comment.

The United States of America, however, furnish a parallel to South Africa, and we find that here are reproduced many of those elements of race or colour conflict of South Africa, shortly to be described. We may, therefore, inquire more closely into the United States, compare and contrast them with South Africa. In the States there are ten million Negroes to sixty-eight million whites, so that the whites outnumber the blacks roughly in a proportion of seven to one—the reverse of the condition in South Africa. Here further the Negroes are isolated; *i.e.* they have no continuity with a larger black reservoir behind them like the Bantu, and, further, they are, comparatively, strangers in the land, in the spatial sense of their having *crossed* from Africa to America, not necessarily in the chronological sense. Otherwise they are in the same position as the Bantu of South Africa, for in America there is an acute racial feeling, going right back to the days of American Negro slavery, or, perhaps more precisely, to the American Civil War (1865) and the Abolition of Negro Slavery in America. For the feeling has increased with the gradual improvement of the Negro. His educational and industrial progress have fanned the flames of colour prejudice, and his political aspirations have fanned them more, till, between black and white, there is drawn, by the latter, a rigid line in all matters social, religious, civil, and political.

From all the foregoing it seems clear that the first necessary condition for the production of race conflict is that two races differing greatly in strength and civilisation shall live side by side, *both in large numbers*, and be brought into constant contact. Witness, for example, while the colour antagonism is most acute in the Southern States, where Negroes are chiefly aggregated, the feeling hardly exists in the Northern States, where the population is almost entirely white, and the Negroes are seen but here and there in isolated numbers.

In South Africa the intellectual space between the blacks and the whites is far greater than is the case in America, for the Bantu are educationally and socially far behind the American Negroes, though it is supposed, for what reason we know not, that their capacity is greater. The Bantu

may be divided into two great classes, namely, the tribal or uncivilised, and the detribalised or civilised. The former of these, who form by far the larger section, live for the most part in country districts in very much the same way as all the Bantu lived before the advent of the Europeans. They live under the Bantu tribal system and the rule of their chiefs. The detribalised Bantu live in, or near, urban districts, and adopt, more or less, the European ways of living. They dress in European clothing, are professing Christians for the most part, and, besides their mother tongue, some of them talk English, Dutch, or both languages, with tolerable command; some who have been to mission schools talk English perfectly well. These urban Bantu are in all stages of civilisation; some are hardly civilised, some only half-civilised, and others fully civilised. They are subject to municipal control; most of them have had elementary education, some have had good education, and some others have had industrial training and are able to work as skilled labourers.

Generally speaking, it is against these educated, or half-educated, civilised and half-civilised blacks that the white sentiment is operative. Generally speaking, also, the better educated the black man is, to a certain stage, the greater is the prejudice he encounters. This is actually the case, but it is also probably exaggerated by the fact that the more educated the man is, the more keenly is he apt to feel the stigma of the prejudice he encounters, the disabilities which he is placed under solely by reason of his colour, and the determination of the ruling class to ignore his intellectual attainments, forcing him down, down, down to the level of his rudest brethren. This, of course, is strange reading to the average islander, but it is true—too true—that the nearer the black man in South Africa approaches, or attempts to approach, the white intellectually, the more is he debarred from reaping the results of his labours and exertions for self-betterment. The strange fact is that many white people in South Africa will do their best to give an entirely barbarous native a measure of civilisation, and some little education, but he must only go a certain length and no further. This peculiar colour-prejudice of South Africa, like that of the Southern States of America, finds expression everywhere—in the streets, in the public buildings, in the public conveyances, in the press, nay, in the church itself. Thus, if a black man were to try to get into an hotel, let his education be what it

will, he would be refused admission ; but, supposing he did manage to enter somehow, if he appeared at table, all the whites would leave it, and, if the proprietor did not turn him out, the hotel might be boycotted by the whites. In the Transvaal there are separate counters for black and white in the public offices. Here, also, the blacks must not walk on the pavements, but in the middle of the street. If they walk on the footpaths they do so at the risk of prosecution. All over South Africa whites will not mix with blacks in railway compartments, tramcars, or post-carts. The only place of which this is not strictly true is Cape Town, where there is the greatest harmony and admixture of black and white people.

Bantu children and European children are provided with separate schools, from the lowest to the highest classes. The two may not mix, as it is proscribed by the white sentiment.

The segregation extends on to lavatories and similar places. On that lavatory you see written "Gentlemen," and there only white men go. On that other lavatory you see written "Amadoda" (men), and this is meant for black men. The same, of course, holds true for the retiring rooms for females. Separate places are provided for the two colours. On that for white women is written "Ladies' Retiring Room," and on that for black women is written "Abafazi" (Women). In all cases, without a single exception, the places for the blacks are, in every respect, far inferior to those of the whites. The same division is seen in railway-station waiting-rooms, general waiting-rooms, ladies' waiting-rooms, gentlemen's waiting-rooms, all for white men and white women ; then, at a respectable distance, and in some obscure corner, a tin shanty, meant as a waiting-room for blacks, men and women, civilised and uncivilised alike. In the Transvaal, special railway trucks are provided to serve as compartments for native passengers. These are indistinguishable from the cattle trucks externally. Inside bare wooden forms are the only distinguishing factor.

In the streets only certain cabs may be hired to blacks : the majority are for hire exclusively by the whites.

One would expect that the distinction would not go the length of the church, but it does so with sober earnestness. A black man may, indeed, enter any European church in South Africa but one, and would probably not be turned out in most towns, but in all, if he was not turned out, he would be given a seat by himself, most likely at the back, and even there he might be

“stared out” of the holy edifice. In the Dutch Reformed Church, a black man who attempted to enter therein would certainly be arrested as a trespasser, for it is enacted by the Act of the Union Parliament, that none but people of European descent may worship in the Dutch Reformed Church.

The *average* white man of South Africa would never think of shaking hands with a black man. The ordinary terms of courtesy are purposely avoided by him, and such a prefix as “Mr.” or “Mrs.” in association with a black man’s, or woman’s, name never escapes his lips. Sometimes he seems even unwilling to call the black man by his name, delighting rather in calling him “that Kafir,” “this Kafir,” the “big Kafir,” or some other kind of Kafir. His black servants, no matter what their age may be, he always calls “boys.”

In the courts of law the colour line is not so much in evidence as it is in most other departments. On the whole justice is administered to white and black—certainly not on equal terms, but, nevertheless, better than one would be led to expect after the foregoing. Some judges and magistrates, especially in the English provinces of the Cape of Good Hope, have, to their honour, not allowed themselves to be swayed by petty race feelings where justice was concerned. Unfortunately, however, matters in this, as in all other respects which admit of colour considerations, are becoming worse year by year. A black juror is an unknown thing in South Africa—the white sentiment would not tolerate such a thing. The weight attached to the evidence of a black man against the white is much less than that of white against black.

In the much-discussed and misrepresented question (in South Africa) of “Black Peril”—that is the assaults of black men upon white women—the punishment generally meted out to the black culprit is death. But in the equally common, if not commoner, though ignored question of “White Peril”—that is the assaults of white men upon black women—the punishment meted out to the white culprit is never death.

In 1910 an interesting case occurred where Lord Gladstone, the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, commuted a death sentence so passed on a native. The whole white South Africa, from one end to another, went into paroxysms of rage and fury.

Murder of a white man by a black man spells, rightly, certain death sentence to the murderer. Murder of a black man by

a white may spell only a few months' imprisonment to the white murderer.

From the *Imvo*, a Bantu paper published at King William's Town, South Africa, appeared the following on the 28th April 1914: "*The East London Murder*.—The sentence of eighteen months' hard labour passed on the Portuguese chef at the East London Circuit Court for stabbing a native to death, employed as a kitchen boy on the railway car saloon, will be read with amazement by many natives, not because they are crying for the old Biblical adage—an eye for an eye—but that it establishes a new precedent that because a man is short-tempered he can commit any crime with impunity, shielding himself behind his temper. The decision of the jury in recommending the accused to mercy will have no other effect but that of doing crime with impunity."

Those are some of the ways in which colour differences exhibit themselves in South Africa. There are, however, curious anomalies. These are as follows:—

Although the presence of the black man is not tolerated in the hotels, public conveyances, or anywhere else, it is not just because he is black, for he may enter these places as a servant, with perfect freedom and ease to himself and the whites. If he is in their service, he may move amongst them as much as he likes, he may handle their food and their children, enter their houses, and sit on their couches, travel with them in the same compartments, and sit side by side with them. He may do all this, but he must be a servant. The moment he tries to do these things as an independent person, he is clean cut off and ostracised by the whites. They will not buy with him, sell with him, talk with him, walk with him, and so following; much less will they eat with him, drink with him, or pray with him. Miscegenation of white and black is, of course, out of the question. Talking of the anomalies of colour prejudice, Sir Maurice Evans says:—

"A single case of marriage between white and black by Christian rites will fill the newspapers with columns of indignant protest, but illicit intercourse, even permanent concubinage, will pass unnoticed."¹

This sentiment or shadow of prejudice, or whatever else it may be called, has not been definitely analysed in spite of the fact that there have been many attempts to do so. Many explanations have been advanced, and many theories propounded

¹ *Black and White in South East Africa.*

as to its origin, but hardly any two writers are agreed on the subject. Take, for instance, the two writers quoted early in this chapter—Mr. J. Bryce and Miss V. R. Markham. The one thinks that it springs from “the old feeling of contempt for slaves, partly from physical aversion, and partly from incompatibility of character and temper.” He denies that it is economic in origin. The other thinks it is “largely due to physical repugnance, and, in a slight measure, to the limitations and stupidity of the Kaffir.” Some pronounce it a survival of the human or inhuman desire to enslave or oppress. Others find that it is a natural instinct for self-preservation, and, as the eminent Negro Professor W. B. Du Bois says, “learnedly explain as a natural defence of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the ‘higher’ against the ‘lower’ races.”¹ Others again are diametrically opposed to such views, and state the sentiment unnatural, unethical, and unchristian.

The reasons generally assigned to the separation between the black and white, as we have just sketched, are many and interesting. A few may be stated. It is alleged by the segregating whites that the black colour annoys them, or they will tell you that a black man has a disagreeable odour, or, again, that they object to his mental deficiencies, or his moral depravity. If, indeed, such things are true, then it must be assumed that when the same sable individual becomes a servant he suddenly loses his black colour, his bad odour, his mental and moral failings. Are such things possible? Is it not more likely that equality is the rub?

In his Romanes Lecture, on *The Relation of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*, Lord Bryce shows that when there is a “contact of races refusing to blend,” such contact is calculated to give trouble, and the more frequently individual members of the races come across one another the greater is that trouble likely to be. Where the two races occupy different parts of the country, or where one is mainly rural, the other mainly urban, or where the habits of life are so dissimilar that opportunities for social intercourse occur but sparingly, occasions for collision may be few. But where the races live in the same towns and villages, and follow the same pursuits, antagonism is sure to arise. It arises from inequality, because, as one of the races is stronger in intelligence and will,

¹ *The Souls of Black Folk.*

its average members treat members of the weaker race scornfully and roughly, when they can do so with impunity. It arises from dissimilarity of character, because neither race understands the other's way of thinking and feeling, so that each gives offence even without meaning it. It arises from distrust, because the sense of not comprehending one another makes each suspect the other of faithlessness or guile. The backward race, being weaker, is usually that which tries to protect itself by guile, while the more advanced race relies upon the prestige of its knowledge, the force of its will, and its ingrained habit of dominance. Violence, when once it breaks out, is apt to spread, because the men of each race take sides in any tumult, and apt to be accompanied by cruelty, because pity is blunter towards those who stand outside the racial or social pale, and the passions of a racial conflict sweep all but the gentlest natures away.

“Every outrage on one side provokes an outrage on the other; and, if a series of outrages occur, each race bands itself together for self-defence, awaiting attack, and probably provoking attack by the alarm its combination inspires. Nor are difficulties in the sphere of industry wanting, for the more advanced race may refuse to work in company with the backward one, or may seek to relegate the latter to the basest and worst-paid kinds of work. So, too, the backward race may give offence by working for lower wages, and thus reducing the general scale of payment. . . .

“If one race enjoys privileges denied to the other, it is sure to abuse its power to the prejudice of the backward people, placing them, it may be, under civil as well as political disabilities, or imposing heavier taxes upon them, or refusing them their fair share of benefits from the public revenue. . . . If political privileges are refused to the backward race, the contrast between principle and practice, between a theoretic recognition of the rights of man as man, and the denial of them to a section of the population, will be palpable and indefensible.”

Two short stories are authentically related :—

The most famous and respected chief in South Africa is Khama, ruler of the Ba-Mangwato people. This man is a Christian of unquestioned high character, and is respected by black and white alike. In 1895 he was on a visit to England, and, while there, was entertained to luncheon by the Duke of Westminster. When the news reached South Africa there was a wave of indignation and utter disgust that a Bantu ruler,

recognised as equal to any person of any nationality, should have been accorded such honour.

The second story is told by Mr. W. P. Livingstone :—

The late Dr. Booker T. Washington was perhaps the best-known Negro. He won for himself the respect of all—black and white—who knew him by his devotion to his race and his unassuming policy. When Mr. Roosevelt was President of the United States, he quite informally invited Dr. Washington to dinner. This action stirred up the white inhabitants of the Southern States. Bitter protests were made from platform and press, and the President was accused of attempting to reverse God's order by forcing race equality upon the Southerners.

These two stories show, in a striking manner, how similar are the processes working in the Union of South Africa and the United States of America.

It is not the case, however, that all white men in South Africa show the feelings of contempt for black men. Some evince no colour distinction. Whether there are any whites without the slightest race feeling against the blacks is a question that the white men are better able to answer. Speaking generally, however, the feeling is more marked among the lower classes and the less-educated of the whites, "who," says Lord Bryce, "plume themselves all the more upon their colour because they have little else to plume themselves upon." The special hostility of this class is directed against the educated class of the blacks, and as these lower classes of whites have much feebler restraints of self-respect than their more highly-educated countrymen, they are more apt to give expression to their feelings by employing such epithets as "nigger," or even resorting to physical force, though this is comparatively rare.

As all know, the European population of South Africa falls into two natural divisions, represented by the people of Dutch extraction, or the Boers, and those of Anglo-Saxon stock, or the British. Now to these two nationalities correspond, in a general way, the two classes of whites mentioned above, namely, the less educated and the more educated. This is, of course, a matter of common knowledge, which it would be idle to try to disguise, that the Boers, as a nation, are far behind their British kinsmen intellectually and socially. As a nation their education has been comparatively neglected, and thus it is that, in a general way, the two classes—the more educated and the less educated—of Europeans in South Africa correspond

to the two nationalities—the British and the Boers respectively. Thus also it is that the Boers are more remarkable for colour feeling or prejudice. This is illustrated in a striking way by visiting those places in South Africa, like Bloemfontein and Johannesburg, or for that matter any place in the Orange Free State or the Transvaal, where the Boer element is predominant, and then visiting towns like Cape Town or Kimberley, or any place in the Cape Province, where the British element is predominant. In the former places, the colour line is much more rigidly drawn. The black man may not walk on the pavement, he may not enter the same places of amusement, refreshment, public duty, or worship as the white man. Even if he is professional, he may not enter a white association of his profession. He is further subjected to the carrying of passes, curfew laws, and other special laws. In the latter places, those in which the British element is supreme, the black man may walk on the pavements, enter the same places of amusement, refreshment, public transactions, and of worship, as the white man. He may not at all these places receive equal treatment as the white man, but he is at any rate tolerated. He is not subject to pass laws nor to curfew laws, any more than the white man. Things are of course changing very rapidly for the worse since the declared union of the Boer and the Briton. We have considered already (Chap. XX.), the legislation of the two—Boer and Briton—separately and conjointly for the Bantu.

We have no wish of deluding any reader into the thought that the other section of colonials, represented by the Britishers, display no colour prejudice, for among them, too, that feeling is very much alive and real, but it is, all things considered, less virulent than it is among the Dutch. Now and then, indeed, one meets a Britisher, here and there, who is much more bitter than a Dutchman against people of colour. It also often happens that the feelings and ideas of a European stranger in South Africa, relative to black men undergo a complete and wonderful metamorphosis in a remarkably short time. He may come believing in equality and fraternity, very soon he believes the exact opposite, and may even put the older comers completely in the shade in his racial sentiments. Generally, however, the British imitate the Dutch as little as possible, and because racialism is the atmosphere in which the Boer breathes, the British try to be as little prejudiced as possible. This, at least, was the position before the union of their States.

Thus it is also that in the government of the Bantu people, the British colonies showed a greater clemency and liberality than the Dutch colonies. This, of course, may have been largely due to the check placed on the colonials by the Colonial Office, and the enlightened public sentiment of the British Isles. Whatever the cause, it is certain that attitudes assumed by the British and the Dutch towards the Bantu differed so much that the Bantu were very often the bone of contention, and their position as such has markedly influenced the history of South Africa. In almost every case the native has been, through no fault of his, the *fons et origo* of Anglo-Boer struggles and disputes, right on from the time the three nations came into contact—that is 1806. To mention only two chief examples:—

1. The Slachter's Nek episode of 1834 was due to ill-treatment of a Hottentot servant by his Boer master, Frederik Bezuidenhout, who was summoned to appear before the court by the British Government. He disobeyed the summons, and when Hottentot soldiers were sent to arrest him, he took refuge in a cave and fired on them. In this way he was himself shot dead. His brother, Jan, organised an insurrection, which was quelled, Jan Bezuidenhout being killed, resisting to the last. Five of the ringleaders were sentenced to death. This inflamed the Dutch, and their anger was increased by the unlucky incident in the breaking down of the gibbet while the sentence was being carried out; and that, in spite of this, no change was made in the attitude and order of the Government to hang the sentenced till they died. Much ill-feeling thus sprang up between the Dutch and the English.

2. The abolition of slavery was the most potent cause of the Great Trek of the Boers in 1834–36. If their manifesto is examined it will be found that nearly all the ten clauses refer directly or indirectly to native affairs as the source of the grievance of the emigrants. Thus reads the manifesto:—

“ 1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace and happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

“ 2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

“ 3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs, and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

“ 4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest people under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour ; and we can foresee as the result of this prejudice nothing but the total ruin of the country.

“ 5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty ; but whilst we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery, we will establish such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

“ 6. We solemnly declare that we leave this colony with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property ; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability against every enemy.

“ 7. We make known that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our own guidance, copies shall be forwarded to this colony for general information ; but we take the opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment, even with death, of all traitors without exception who may be found among us.

“ 8. We purpose, in the course of our journey and on arrival at the country where we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

“ 9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future.

“ 10. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory ; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

“ In the name of all who leave the colony with me,

“ P. RETIEF.”

In that way the Dutch, vexed by the generous policy of the British Government towards the people of colour, decided to leave the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and trek into unknown territories. In his book, *A Lifetime in South Africa*, p. 46, Sir John Robinson quotes from a letter of one of the emigrants, Mrs. Anna Steenkamp, a niece of P. Retief, a letter which shows more truly the feelings of the Dutch than the formal document penned by one far above the average of them. This letter says:—

“The shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves; and yet *it is not so much their freedom that drove us to such lengths as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinctions of race and religion*, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; therefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity.”

Many other examples in which the question of native policy of the Boers and the British has led to strife could be added. Such, for instance, as the declaration of British suzerainty over the Boer States and their subsequent retrocession, the occupation of Natal by the British, and the declaration of British protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1884. These considerations throw important light upon our inquiry into the government of the Boers and the British relative to the Bantu people. This has been done in Chap. XX. Before closing the present, it may not be out of place if, after noting the feelings of the whites to the blacks, we now quickly note the manner in which the latter receive these feelings, what their feelings to their white neighbours are, and, finally, how they are affected by the shadow of racial feeling.

Generally speaking, the attitude of contempt and repugnance assumed by the whites is, for the most part, silently acquiesced in by the blacks, but this is not always the case, as we now proceed to explain. In the earlier pages of this chapter we divided the Bantu into two classes, namely, the rude and uncivilised, and the civilised and educated. We also mentioned that it was mainly against this latter class that the colour feeling most actively evinced itself, from which fact have resulted such expressions as “the educated Kafir,” by which a South African white or black understands much more than is in those three words.

The uncivilised Bantu are, for the most part, quite indifferent to the feelings of the whites, unless those feelings express themselves in physical force and ill-treatment. Even then, the mental pain felt is soon forgotten, and the uncivilised man easily pacified, for the unsophisticated Negroes are everywhere noted for their forgiving nature, and the ease with which they regain their placidity of temper. The question of equality does not trouble them, though, of course they expect the elementary human rights. Altogether, being aggregated by themselves in country places under their chiefs, they do not come much into collision with the whites, who are largely in the towns. But if they should meet the whites, as they do in English and Dutch farms, it is more often in the relation of master and servant. That satisfies the white man, and the contempt he shows the civilised brethren of his servant is withheld from him. Racial feeling is not aroused in the uncivilised black man, who recognises the superiority of his employer—the white man—and, having nothing more to wish for than immediate material ends, the idea of competition never enters his head.

It is often otherwise with his civilised brother, especially if he is educated. The detribalised or civilised Bantu live for the most part in town districts, and enter into employment under white masters. Some of them pass through training schools, where they acquire skill in trades, or are prepared as teachers for Bantu schools, or ministers for Bantu congregations. A good many enter the civil service as clerks and interpreters. A few are journalists, and fewer still have entered the professions. Now all these civilised or partially civilised and educated or half-educated Bantu come into continual contact with the whites, and they it is, who bear the direct brunt of the racial feeling. The tradesman who has struggled so much to learn his trade must consider himself exceedingly lucky if he gets a white master who will employ him as such. All skilled labour is considered a special privilege of the white man, and the door must be closed to black skilled labourers by refusing to employ them. The self-respecting black teacher, the black minister of religion—these meet contempt at every turn. They are generally termed “the educated Kafirs,” and are considered spoiled, by the bulk of the whites.

The black clerks and interpreters—well, they don't exist now, for they have been swept out of the civil service and replaced by whites. Men who had interpreted in the magistrate and

high courts in the native languages for years, and attained great efficiency, have been condemned for their colour and cleared out to make room for members of the chosen race, who, more often, have but a sorry acquaintance with native languages. The black professional men, lawyers or doctors, in common with any apparently educated black man, are completely cut off from everything that is white. If one of them was in a railway compartment of a very crowded train, no white man, not to mention a white woman, would enter it. If on the journey he went to the dining-saloon, he would very likely be told that the food was finished, or at best that he should come after all the whites had been served and had gone out. Certainly his presence in their midst would not be tolerated, let his education be what it will. The colour sentiment against these civilised 'blacks, then, is greater than it is against the uncivilised; they are more open to it, and apt to feel it more than their simpler brethren. It is not likely, in the face of these facts, that a civilised black man, or, for that matter, any man, can have very much goodwill left in him. So far from that, he keenly feels the stigma which is eternally placed upon him; he bitterly resents the systematic ostracism to which he is subjected. The unreasonable and unreasoning aversion he is shown on all sides stings him to the quick, and stimulates aversion in him. Purposefully, intelligently, and sensibly, he sets his heart to the unhappy duty of revenge. Prejudice provokes prejudice. In the words of Professor Du Bois, in his *Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 9, 10: "to so much of this strange prejudice as is founded on just homage to civilisation, culture, and righteousness, he humbly bows and meekly does obeisance. But before that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this he stands helpless, dismayed, and well-nigh speechless; before that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the distortion of fact and wanton licence of fancy, the cynical ignoring of the better and the boisterous welcoming of the worse, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black, from Toussaint to the devil—before this there rises a sickening despair that would disarm any nation save that black host to whom 'discouragement' is an unwritten word. But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate."

Analysis.—Ethically considered, the word “prejudice” presupposes an unethical attitude, inasmuch as it means hostile *pre-judgment*, or, if we may so express it—*hatred to order*, irrespective of the morality or immorality, the goodness or badness of the qualities hated. We may, therefore, in analysing racial antagonism, substitute the word “Hatred” for “Prejudice,” as the former word does not convey a bias which the latter word does.

Now, we love people in whom we see, or think we see, certain qualities which we esteem, and we at the same time presuppose a sympathy in those we love. The qualities in them which we admire need not be morally good, it is enough that we esteem them. Love, therefore, is not necessarily ethical.

The reverse of Love is Hatred, and it presupposes qualities which we dislike in the person hated. These qualities which we hate may be, in themselves, morally good, in which case hatred is unethical; or they may be morally bad, in which case hatred is ethical. Ethical Hatred, therefore, is Right, as being a revulsion of Morality from Immorality, of Good from Evil, of moral Right from moral Wrong.

Now, if Race Hatred is of this latter kind, if the hating party can conscientiously say that his hatred of his neighbour is of such a nature, then his hatred is ethical. It is right. If, on the other hand, such is not the case, then the hatred is unethical. It is immoral.

We all know very well, however, that one man hates another man, and one nation hates another nation, not because the thoughts, words or actions of that other man or nation are morally wrong, but rather because they differ from the hater’s thoughts, words, and actions. Of this nature is the colour conflict of South Africa. It is therefore unethical and immoral.

From the religious standpoint, since the hating party professes Christianity, we may inquire how such race hatred accords with the great Christian maxim or law—“Love your neighbour as yourself.”

There is much more in those few words than appears on the surface, for, it seems, the command means not simply—Love your neighbour irrespective of the good or bad qualities in him, but rather—Love the Good in your neighbour, etc. Christianity, being a high code of morals, being ethical, enjoins ethical Love and forbids unethical Love. From this it is legitimate to conclude that Christianity enjoins ethical Hatred as it forbids

unethical Hatred, for, analytically, ethical Love and ethical Hatred merge into each other, because ethical Love is to esteem the morally right qualities and loathe the morally wrong qualities, that is, to Love and *Not to Hate* the Right; and to Hate and *Not to Love* the Evil. Therefore, in loving our neighbour in spite of his morally evil qualities, we break the law just as in hating him in spite of his morally good qualities.

We obey the law if we love our neighbour for the morally good qualities in him, and we obey the law if we hate him for the morally evil qualities in him. Such Love or Hatred is legitimate, ethical, and Christian. We recognise, however, that such is not the usual love between person and person, much less between race and race. We know very well, that such is not the hatred between man and man, much less between race and race.

As Hume remarks, "it seldom happens that we do not think an enemy vicious, and cannot distinguish betwixt his opposition to our interests and real villainy or baseness."—*Human Nature*.

Race Hatred, therefore is illegitimate, unethical, and unchristian. Of such a nature is the hatred between black and white in Southern Africa.

CHAPTER XXIII

BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1889-1902¹

IT is not generally known, beyond the shores of South Africa, that the South African War of 1899-1902 was not fought exclusively between the Boers and the British, but that, on the other hand, very many Bantu people—the natives of South Africa—participated in it, fighting side by side with the British forces, in the same or separate regiments, winning battles and relieving besieged towns. When, in 1899, the position of Great Britain in South Africa was seriously questioned, when on 9th October of that year the Boer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State ultimately threw the gauntlet at the feet of Great Britain—or Britain threw it at the feet of the Boers, whichever the reader chooses to imagine—and hostilities broke out between Boer and Briton, one of the first steps of the Republican forces was to cross the western border of the Transvaal into that territory which for years the Boers had greatly desired—namely, British Bechuanaland. The native tribes which they must come up against in so doing were the Bakhatla, under their chief Lentsue, and, in the second place, the Barolong, under their chief Besele (or Wessels) Montsioa. Both these tribes were of pronounced British sympathies, but, more than that, they were in the regions which the Boers wished to hold, in order to cut off the British lines of communication between the north and the south—Rhodesia and Cape Colony.

On approaching the territory of the Bakhatla tribe, close to the Fort of Gaberones, which had been under a British force, but was now evacuated, the Boers were warned by the Bakhatla tribe that, as they were neutral, no Boer forces should pass through their territories; that if they did pass, that would be a violation of their neutrality, which the little Bakhatla tribe

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for most of the material for this chapter to Mr. S. T. Plaatje's book—*Native Life in South Africa*.

would deem itself in honour bound to oppose, even to drawing the sword. In fact, as the reader must perceive, the Bakhatla tribe found itself in very much the same position as the Belgian nation has lately found itself. As the Belgian territory was violated, so was the Bakhatla territory, and as the Belgians found themselves seriously involved in a war originally not against them, so also did the Bakhatla; and as the small European nation fought gallantly and defeated superior forces, so did the little Bantu tribe beat off the first movements of the Boers, upsetting very seriously their plans and calculations, and temporarily paralysing their efforts. With happier results than the Belgians the Bakhatla defended themselves against further assaults, and kept the enemy beyond their territory.

BAROLONG TRIBE OF MAFEKING AND THE BOER WAR

The little town of Mafeking! the words conjure up before the mind's eye a conglomeration of bungalows, meagre mud and brick houses roofed with corrugated iron—not one of them substantial, perhaps—wide streets, very short, very few, and very dusty; unpaved footwalks and pepper trees everywhere. That is the European quarter. Three-quarters of a mile to the west of it is a larger and more promiscuous and irregular aggregation of huts—all round and grass-thatched—a few more bungalows, walls, rocks, and boulders, no regular streets, sand and dirt, and all kinds of trees. That is the native *staadt* or town of 6000 souls. Let a river pass below the European quarter on the south side to run through the native town. That constitutes the famous little town of Mafeking, famous purely by accident, or, if you like, by a dramatic achievement.

The Barolong, as the Bantu who make up the bulk of the population are called, upon learning that Mafeking was to be an objective of their hereditary enemies, the Boers, approached the Civil Commissioner stationed among them, and requested that they be supplied with firearms so that they might defend their homes against the impending invasion. The Civil Commissioner expressed himself in accordance with the prevailing and unavailing sentiment then as now, that, as the war was one of whites against whites, it would be wrong and impolitic to arm the blacks. This reply of the magistrate was confirmed by the military headquarters at Cape Town. In the meantime the Republican forces were fast approaching the little town of

Mafeking, which formed the junction of the British North and South Rhodesia and Cape Colony, approaching fast so as to surprise the town, capture it by a *coup de main*, and isolate Rhodesia.

Within two days of the outbreak of hostilities 7000 Boer commandos had crossed the western border of the Transvaal, and were assembled under the supreme command of General Piet Cronje, above what they deemed the ill-fated town, for Cronje and his subordinates, Snyman and De la Rey, made no doubt but that Mafeking would fall an easy prey to them. Before bombarding the town, however, the gallant and compassionate general,—for Cronje is allowed to have been humane, and averse to causing needless suffering—advised General Baden-Powell of Mafeking to surrender, and so avoid unnecessary suffering. Getting no satisfaction, however, he turned his Krupp guns and Vickers-Maxim automatic guns on to Mafeking, and, in a week, added to these a heavy Creusot monster of 94-lb. shell. By this time General Baden-Powell, not seeing the logic of refusing the Barolong a means of self-defence, had enrolled about five hundred of them, and armed them with Snider rifles. These joined the British in the defence of the black and the white quarters. At the same time they gladly welcomed the opportunity of doing what they could to conquer the Queen's enemies, as also to settle old scores with the Boers. Regiments of Barolong volunteers were formed and placed under their chiefs and headmen, who received orders from the staff of Baden-Powell. Besides this, many Barolong volunteered for the very serviceable but risky duties of carrying despatches. By this means the besieged garrison was not only kept in constant communication with forces under Plumer in the north, but the movements of the Boers around Mafeking were also made known. On the 25th October the Boers tried to force a way into the little puzzle of Mafeking by the native town on the south-west side, by what thus far was the heaviest practice of their field pieces. They, however, got a lively reception from the Barolong artillery, and were obliged to retire in confusion and, no doubt, irritation, especially as this step cost the Boers a good few men. The idea, further, that this Boer disaster should be caused by the blacks was galling to the Boers, who, at the beginning of the war, had done their best, first to draw the natives to their side, and, failing that, to keep them neutral; the first step was attempted by overtures to the chiefs,

the second by threats to them and letters of remonstrance to Her Majesty's officers in command of the garrison.

In the official *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, Major-General Sir F. Maurice says, on p. 167, vol. iii. :—

“The Barolong continued to be both an offence and a cause of loss to the Boers. Numbers of their cattle fell into the hands of the expert black raiders, who marauded close to the Boer lines, risking and often losing their lives, but frequently returning the richer by a head or two of Boer stock. The unexpected allegiance of the Barolong to the British had proved a sore disappointment to the enemy, who on January 30th had the effrontery to send in broad daylight a flag of truce amongst the huts, inviting the headmen to bring their people over to the Republican cause. As to the employment of natives in the field, both sides complained bitterly of it—their letters on the subject once actually crossing on the same day. In a matter which both found inevitable, neither need be guilty. Baden-Powell, at any rate, though he had armed and enrolled in five bands nearly five hundred natives, was blameless. If the enemy found it impossible to avoid the neutrals with shot and shell, it was impossible not to allow the sufferers to retaliate, and though a native armed ‘for his own defence only’ is prone rather to remember the weapon in his hands than the proviso limiting its use, who is to decide which marksman, black or white, fires the first shot of an interminable and well-nigh incessant fusillade.”

So the Barolong fought on. They were provided with guns, but there were not enough to go round. Many of them had, however, their own guns and munitions, and these were duly taken out for good use. The south-western side was defended by the Barolong and the north-western sector of the perimeter was maintained by them and the British garrisons. The co-operation of the black and the white troops was unique throughout the siege.

General Cronje had only been for a short time—not much more than a month—in command of the besieging armies when he was called away south, leaving Snyman to conduct the siege. Snyman followed his chief's tactics—that of throwing so many shells a day into the European town and so many into the Barolong town. This went on for only six days in each week—Sunday being a day of truce, when the belligerents took rest, or rather, a change, for they got out of the dug-outs and repaired

their defences, had picnics and sports, and visited their friends in other parts of the town. This Sunday truce became a recognised remission from the early days of the siege, and continued until close to relief. There had arrived among the besieging Boers on the 24th April one Field-Cornet Eloff, an ambitious young man and a grandson of President Paul Kruger.

The new leader roused the Boers from their lethargic inactivity, celebrating his arrival by a heavy artillery fire and by the violation of the Sunday truce. On May 13th the young Boer leader was right in the town of Mafeking with 300 men. He had effected entry by marching up the bed of the Molopo River (a remarkable feat), which runs through the native staadt. In this way the 300 men successfully evaded the defending troops, and the first indication of the Boer invasion was given by flames in the Barolong staadt. They were, however, helplessly cut off, and Eloff, ere long, found himself isolated and surrounded in the native town, which was a scene of flames and hard fighting from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. on the 13th. The Boers who were scattered in the staadt were collected in by the Barolong, who wanted to see the fight through, and thoroughly beat the Boers, and, says Sir F. Maurice, "only the personal intervention of Captain F. C. Marsh, the commander of the B squadron, was able to save their lives from the enraged Barolongs who had accompanied the attack." By 8 p.m. in the evening of the same day, all the Boers had surrendered, their casualties being 60 killed and wounded and 108 prisoners. Among the Barolong regiments 8 were killed and 10 wounded, and of the British 4 were killed and 10 wounded. So ended the brilliant Eloff venture, and so began the Relief of Mafeking after seven months of investment.

After the relief of Mafeking, Sir Charles Parsons was commissioned by Lord Roberts to express on his behalf and that of the British forces, thanks to the Barolong people of Mafeking for the part they had so efficiently played in the defence of the town.

Soon after, Lord Roberts dispatched another officer in the person of Major the Hon. Hanbury Tracey on the same message, —to congratulate the Barolong on their successful defence of their homes, and thank them for their loyal co-operation with the British troops. This officer was also a bearer of an illumined and framed address from Lord Roberts to the Barolong chiefs and people.



“THE CHIEF WESSELS, LEKOKO, AND THE BAROLONG OF MAFEKING.—I, Frederick Sleigh, Baron Roberts, K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., of Kandahar and Waterford, hereby testify my approbation of the loyalty to H.M. Queen Victoria, and the good behaviour of the Barolongs under the leadership of Wessels, Lekoko, and the headmen Silas Molema and Paul Montsioa, throughout the long and trying investment of Mafeking by the Boers from October 13, 1899, to May 17, 1900, and I desire to congratulate these leaders and their people on the successful issue of their courageous defence of their homes and property against the invasion of the enemy.

“ (Signed) ROBERTS,
 Field-Marshal.

“PRETORIA, *July 1, 1900.*”

Colonel C. B. Vyvyan, escorted by the officers and men of the 4th Bedfordshire Regiment went to the Barolong town.

“Within the square, seated on chairs and stools, were the Barolong men, whilst the women, attired in their brightest dresses, took up positions wherever they could get a view of the proceedings. On the arrival of the Base Commandant (Lieut.-Colonel Vyvyan) and the Resident Magistrate (Mr. C. G. H. Bell), a Union Jack was hoisted to the accompaniment of a general cheer. A large number of civilians and several military officers witnessed the ceremony, among them being the Mayor (Mr. A. H. Friend), Mr. W. H. Surmon (Acting Commissioner), Lieut.-Colonel Newbury (Field Paymaster), Major the Hon. Hanbury Tracey (the officer who brought the address from Pretoria), and Major Panzera.

“Mr. Bell, addressing the assembled natives, said: ‘To-day is an historical one in the history of the Barolongs as represented by Montsioa’s people. I am sure it must be most satisfactory to you all who have so bravely assisted in the defence of Mafeking to have the honour conferred upon you, which is unprecedented in the annals of the history of the native tribes in this country. The Field-Marshal commanding Her Majesty’s troops in South Africa has expressed in the address which is about to be presented to you his thanks for the services you rendered

during the siege—an honour which I am sure you will appreciate at its full value, and which I can assure you is fully recognised by the Europeans who took part with you in the defence of the town. On many occasions bravery was displayed by both Europeans and natives. We have fought and risked our lives together; we have undergone privations; we have eaten horses and various other animals of a like character; we have seen our friends fall, shattered by shells; and we have endured hardships and trials which very few men endure more than once in a lifetime. We have fought together for one common object. We have attained that object, and it is now impossible for us to do otherwise than experience a feeling of fellowship, which is accentuated by the proceedings of to-day. You Barolongs at the commencement of the siege declared your determination to be loyal to the Queen, and when we had a meeting here shortly before war broke out, you were assured by General Baden-Powell that if you did remain loyal, your services would not be forgotten, and the Field-Marshal has endeavoured to-day to convince you of the truth of that statement. There are certain names mentioned on the address; but I cannot help, while talking to you, now, mentioning the names of other persons who were of great assistance to us during the siege. It was altogether impossible to include the names of everybody on the address, and some of you may think that your names are not there because you have been overlooked, but that is not so. I will just mention the names of a few which, had there been room, might have appeared. First, there is Saane, who remained outside and assisted our dispatch runners, and who when he heard news sent it to us. It is only those who suffered from news hunger at the time can understand the pleasure we experienced at the assistance continually rendered us by Saane. Then there is Badirile, who so bravely commanded his young men on the western outposts, and who on many occasions went through determined encounters with the enemy. Then again there is Joshua Molema, Motshegare and Mathakgong, all of whom did good service. Then there was Dinku, who on the day Eloff came in and when the enemy was behind him, stuck to his little fort, and who during the attack was wounded by a shell, which has since caused his death. His memory will not fade away amongst you Barolongs, as he was well known as a brave man.'

“Colonel Vyvyan then stepped forward and said: ‘Chief

Wessels and men of the Barolong nation, Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in South Africa, has sent a special officer from Pretoria to bring you his greeting, and to deliver to you a mark of his approval, and the approval which he expresses on behalf of the Queen. Gathered here to-day are subjects of the Queen from various parts of her wide dominions—men who have come overseas from England, from Australia, from Canada, and from India—and they are here this afternoon to meet her native subjects of the Barolong tribe : whilst we, the officers and soldiers of the Queen who fought in Mafeking, wish to show what we think of our friends and neighbours down here in the staadt. You have done your duty well. You will remember that some time ago, an officer was sent by Lieut.-General Baden-Powell to thank you for your services, and now the greatest General of all has sent you a special mark of his esteem in the form of this letter, which I shall read to you.’

“ Colonel Vyvyan here read the Address, and then addressing Chief Wessels, and at the same time handing him the letter, the Colonel concluded : ‘ I give you this on behalf of Lord Roberts and the Queen. You are to accept it on behalf of your nation. You are to keep it and show it to your children and tell them why it was given to you and that they are to be proud of it.’

“ Wessels then rose, and taking off his white helmet replied on behalf of his tribe. ¹

“ The Colonel held out his hand, which Wessels gripped very cordially. The band played the National Anthem, and the Barolongs joined in one of their native cheers.”

The little town of Mafeking had covered itself with glory. In a dramatic way it had risen from obscurity to fame. All the illustrious visitors, and British officials to South Africa after the war, made it a point to visit this little village. The Barolong had contributed in a large way to the fame of Mafeking. All the illustrious visitors to Mafeking made it a point to call on the Barolong people and address them—giving a special prominence to the courage of the people and their services and loyalty to Britain.

First came Lord Roberts himself from Pretoria, accompanied by Lady Roberts.

Next, two years after the war, came Joseph Chamberlain,

¹ *The Mafeking Mail.*

the Colonial Secretary, and accompanied by Sir Walter F. Hely Hutchinson, Governor of Cape Colony, Sir Gordon Sprigg, Premier of Cape Colony, and Mr Thomas L. Graham, Attorney-General of the Cape, addressed a large gathering of the Barolong at the "khotla," assuring them of lasting British solicitude for their welfare.

Last, but not least, in 1906 the Barolong people were further honoured by the visit to their staadt of a member of the royal household—His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. His Highness addressed the Barolong and assured them that their interests would always be jealously guarded by the British Crown.

The Cape Boy Contingent was another body of coloured men who helped in the defence of Mafeking. These served with the Police Force, both being under the command of Sergeant Currie. The writer just quoted says of this coloured contingent, "a staunch and aggressive band, endowed with particular hatred of the Boers, and adept in this peculiar fighting, with its interminable watching and waiting, the hasty shot and the no less hasty concealment, which constitutes the normal warfare in trenches in close proximity to a vigilant enemy." Sergeant Taylor, a coloured man, who was at the head of the Cape Boy Contingent, had achieved reputation as an expert sniper and scout. When the Boers were threatening the eastern defences of the town he and his men drove them off, but the gallant soldier was mortally wounded. He was buried with full military honours, General Baden-Powell and his staff being present at the burial.

Throughout the seven months of the investment of Mafeking the coloured contingent displayed courage, soldierliness and valour in the field. With the Cape Police they captured from the Boers a five-pounder gun which now stands below the siege obelisk erected in front of the Mafeking Town Hall. It is said, in fact, that the gun was seized by the *coloured* Sergeant Bell, and two other coloured subalterns of the Cape Boy contingent.

The Bangwaketse tribe of Bechuanaland Protectorate were beyond the war zone, but they did what they could to advance the British cause during the South African War. General Plumer, who was in command of the forces of Rhodesia and Bechuanaland Protectorate, altogether about 700 strong, arranged with Bathoen, the chief of Bangwaketse at Kanya, about eighty miles north-west of Mafeking, that the chief should help him in

accumulating supplies in his town. This Bathoen and his people were only too glad to do, and Plumer immediately adopted Kanya as his base of supplies on which to draw during his movements about Lobatsi and Gaberones, in his attempt to effect a junction with the besieged garrison of Mafeking. It was General Plumer's intention to force an opening on the northern approach of the town if only to bring in some supplies and provisions for the besieged garrison. The Boers were, however, well informed and on the lookout, and so managed to repulse the general in his attempted entry.

Barolong expert cattle raiders and scouts also entirely failed in their attempt to bring in the head of cattle General Plumer had accumulated near Lobatsi and meant for the besieged. In a daring attempt to bring in a large head, they were thankful to save their lives while the cattle changed hands.

Fingoes, Mozambique and Zambesi natives also came forward according to their means to give a hand in defending the British territories. Most of these were employed in the non-combatant duties of transport, bridge-making and railroad construction. General De Wet captured some three hundred of them at a place called Leeuwspruit. He strongly suspected that they had been armed, but as the guns could not be seen, the general says he liberated them. On another occasion he captured fifty, but subsequently liberated them also as there was no proof of their having been armed. These facts are of a double importance as showing first that the resourceful general was aware that many blacks were in arms, making common cause with the British. In the second place, it reflects credit on De Wet that he should on the two occasions have set free such large numbers of blacks whom he suspected of being in arms against the Republican forces. De Wet states in his book, *Three Years' War*, that he did so, and we have no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement. It is at any rate one of those rare instances in which natives were given the benefit of the doubt, and especially under such conditions when everything is dealt with in martial "summariness."

The Basuto nation, then under their Chief Lerothodi, grandson of the renowned Moshesh, offered to raise a contingent to operate against the Boers in the Orange Free State. They approached the British Commissioner resident among them, but they were given the same old stereotyped answer that the Government did not wish to employ non-European troops.

The Basutos had perforce to observe an armed neutrality. Being some distance from the main theatre of war, they got no chance of edging their way into the struggle, and the Boers dare not violate the Basuto territories either from the respect due to neutrals (which unfortunately is often displaced by the diplomatic excuse—necessity knows no law), or for fear of creating a new and dangerous foe against their already depleted commandos.

The part some members of the Bantu race played on behalf of Great Britain is thus by no means a small one. In fact, it was an important one and so it was recognised, not only by the British officials and rulers, but also, to their annoyance and discomfiture, by the Dutch.

The following excerpts from the speeches of the Boer leaders in their conference of 1902, to consider peace negotiations, speak for themselves. They are contained in General De Wet's book, *Three Years' War*, on the South African War.

Among other things Commandant General Botha said: "The Kaffir question was becoming from day to day more acute. At Vrijheid, for instance, there was a Kaffir commando which had already made several attacks upon the burghers. This attitude of the Kaffir population was producing a very dispiriting effect upon the burghers" (pp. 406, 407).

Mr. Birkenstock: "There is also continual danger from the Kaffirs, whose attitude towards us is becoming positively hostile. . . . One morning recently a Kaffir commando, shortly before daybreak, attacked a party of our men, who lost fifty-six killed out of a total of seventy" (p. 412.)

Mr. J. L. Grobler stated, "he did not like the temper of the Kaffirs" (p. 415).

Landrost Bosman: "Even the scanty food we can get has to be obtained from the Kaffirs by persuasion. Moreover the Kaffirs side with the English, who in their countermarches are clearing all the food out of the country. . . . The Kaffirs are a factor which cannot be neglected" (pp. 432, 433).

The "Kaffirs" referred to in these speeches are Bantu tribes, mostly of Bechuana-Basuto extraction, inhabiting the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Possibly also the Ma-Shangaans and Fingoes are included. Elsewhere (pp. 275, 276) in his book General De Wet says: "England's great power pitted against two Republics, which in comparison with European countries were nearly uninhabited! This mighty Empire employed against

us, besides their own English, Scotch, and Irish soldiers, volunteers from the Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, and South African colonies, hired against us both black and white nations, and, what is worst of all, the national scouts from our own nation. . . . If there had been no national scouts, and no Kaffirs, in all human probability matters would have taken a different turn."

The general accuses his fellow-burghers who served against the Republican cause of being tempted by the pay of five shillings a day; and that is perhaps what he means by the hiring of national scouts, etc. But he makes a serious mistake by imagining that "hired black nations" were employed, for the black troops who fought, did so entirely as volunteers, and more, having no five shillings a day attached to their services, having no uniform, and what is still more, having to provide themselves with provisions and often guns and munitions—in fact very much like the members of the Boer commandos themselves.

Yet another point is that the black troops were allowed by the British to fight because their territories had been violated by the Boers, or they had suffered in some way or other, as inevitably they must, from the enemy, and the fairest thing was to allow the sufferers to retaliate. Thus it is that the Barolong, who suffered most, received the fullest liberty to strike back. Thus also it is that the Basuto, who thirsted to draw Boer blood, were not allowed to fight as their territory was not violated and they had suffered no direct injury. Whether Great Britain could or could not have won the war without the help of the "black nations" seems idle to discuss.

What is a more practical question, and one that has more bearing upon our subject is—whether the Bantu people benefited, or did not benefit, by the Anglo-Boer War, *i.e.* by its peace terms. The Bantu had participated in the war as allies, or rather subjects of the British Empire. The British Empire had come out victorious from the struggle, and we have seen how responsible British officials recognised the part the Bantu had played in bringing about the successful issue of the war. The Bantu, therefore, could not but expect to reap some of the fruits of victory. They naturally looked forward, with some confidence, to a more liberal and broader-minded policy towards them from their European rulers. This hope was enhanced by an implicit belief, which possessed many of them, and is held by some to this day—that Great Britain went to war primarily in their

interests—to protect them from Boer aggression, a belief which, we fear, was shared by many British people also, in much the same way as some people believed or still believe that some nations entered the European war to guard the neutrality of “little Belgium,” while in fact all the thinking world knows that a *much higher law*—the law of self-defence—was the operating cause.

Among the simple Bantu, indeed, such a belief was warrantable, in view of the confidence which the British policy of the latter part of the nineteenth century had inspired. They believed in the righteousness and impartiality of Great Britain and her sympathy towards them, and her readiness to step in and say “Hands off” to aggressive European colonists. In this latter part of the nineteenth century, there can be no doubt but that such a sentiment was in Great Britain. Indeed, in the very month in which the war broke out (October 1899), Mr. Chamberlain, addressing the House of Commons, said among other things: “We have talked of grievances, hitherto we have confined ourselves to the grievances of the whites. The House will bear in mind when we granted the Convention in 1884, we undertook the protection of the natives of the Transvaal. Those natives had been our subjects. They were the majority of the inhabitants, and we retroceded them to the Transvaal, the natives whom we undertook to protect. Had we kept our promise? Sir, the treatment of the natives of the Transvaal has been disgraceful, it has been brutal, it has been unworthy of a civilised Power. Why have we not complained? In 1896 I drafted a dispatch, and I sent it to Sir Hercules Robinson, and I instructed him to make representations to the Transvaal as to their conduct to Malaboeh and other chiefs. Then the Raid came, and I had to telegraph instructions that that dispatch could not with propriety be presented at the time. That is the reason why I have not made complaints, and why there is therefore very little correspondence in the Blue Book about the native grievance; but *do not think for a moment that we have at any time kept our promise to the native.* We have heard a great deal about the Great Trek. . . . *The Great Trek took place mainly and chiefly because, in the words of the Boers themselves, and you can prove it from their own language, they wanted to wallop their own niggers!*”

From such and other official pronouncements, and from pledges and promises—expressed or implied—of emancipation, it might

be expected that the rulers would earnestly seek to better the Bantu materially after the war. It is a fact, however, a regrettable fact, that the position of the Bantu after the South African War was worse than before it. It is a fact that their condition has grown worse and worse every year, their rights, never many, nor mighty, have been curtailed systematically since then to now ; and the future is dark and dreary.

CHAPTER XXIV

BANTU IN EUROPEAN WAR, 1914-1918¹

“ In peace there’s nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility.
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger :
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favoured rage.”

SHAKESPEARE.

Every subject’s duty is the king’s.

WHEN in 1914 the world was rudely awakened from its peaceful slumbers by the clash of armaments and the shrill blast of war in Europe, it was, naturally, curious to know how the world powers which were not immediately involved would behave. Its eyes instinctively turned inquiringly from the arena of war to the one great power whose conduct would in a great measure decide the issue of the newborn struggle. Friend and foe waited momentarily in brain-racking suspense for the decision of Great Britain—momentarily only, for in a short time she had cast her die. That first law—self-defence—had invited her to the fray.

Britain is the head of a large household, the mother of many children, children of all hues and habitations. When once she decided to go to war, all these joined her in a true filial manner. At home the Suffragist Movement spontaneously died down. The Irish Home Rule propaganda was hushed. The propagandists directed their activities into a new channel—namely, the protection of the Mother Country.

As at home, so abroad, the sons of Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, and India severally came forward and laid their men and money at the disposal of the Empire.

As with the white sons of the Empire, so with the non-

¹ These pages were written in the winter 1917-18.

white—the brown and the black. From India the Indian princes liberally poured hundreds of thousands of pounds into the war treasury. The Maharajah of Mysore gave some £330,000 towards war expenses; the Nizam of Hyderabad gave £396,000 towards the expenses of the Hyderabad contingent; the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior gave fifty motor ambulances and motor wagons and ten motor cycles, and the Maharajah of Bikaner handed over to the Empire his famous Bikaner Camel Corps, which was drafted over to Egypt. Besides, before the end of the fateful year, thousands of Indian soldiers had landed in France with their princes, among whom was the last named—Maharajah of Bikaner—to participate in the war.

Although the Indians were the first coloured British subjects to participate in the great war, other coloured troops had entered the field from the outset.

France had a trained coloured army in her North African possessions, and when her borders were in danger she did not hesitate to bring over these willing troops to defend her. First she landed 120,000 of these Senegalese coloured troops, consisting of Turcos, Algerians, and Moroccans, and she gave notice that the number was soon to be increased to 500,000. These have displayed superb soldierly qualities, and many of them were engaged in the famous defence of Verdun.

Out in the East, also, the powerful British ally—Japan—was wide awake, and her first move was to capture Tsingtau from the Germans.

In West Africa, the fighting in Togoland and Cameroons against the Germans was carried out on the British side almost entirely by the West African Negro regiments. These volunteered from Nigeria—north and south—and included the Negro standing forces of Sierra Leone and of the Gold Coast. They carried the whole campaign through successfully, and having finished it were drafted to German East Africa, where about 5000 thus served under the Union Jack. Thither also went many Sierra Leone Negroes to act as carriers and render other non-combatant assistance to their British colleagues. In East Africa itself, the King's African Rifles, a regiment of the Nyasaland Bantu, were joined by the Nubian coloured troops, by the native regiments of Uganda, and these with the West African Negro regiments have been a cause of offence and loss in man-power and territory to the Germans in East Africa.

From the West Indies, thousands of volunteer Negro troops arrived in England in the earlier part of 1915. These have given a good account of themselves on the western front in the cause of Great Britain. Some more of the West Indian Negroes were drafted to North Africa to fight in Egypt.

Coming back to Africa, the Matabele section of the Bantu, descendants of the fierce warriors of Moselekatse, have not been behind in coming forward to fight for the flag. Two strong bands—the first and second Rhodesian Native Contingents—have been formed and prepared for service with the other British forces, black and white, in German East Africa. Only in September 1917 the second Rhodesian Native Contingent left Salisbury under Major S. J. N. Jackson for the East African front. Besides, Matabele have volunteered in large numbers for non-combatant duties of transport.

On the 10th November 1914 the following appeared in the *Glasgow Evening News*:—

“BASUTOS’ OFFER

“Loyalty of the South African Natives

“Messages were issued by the Press Bureau last night showing the loyalty of South African natives.

“The High Commissioner for South Africa has received the following message from Griffith, the Paramount Chief of Basutoland:

“‘With regard to this war which I hear exists between His Majesty the King George V. and the Germans, I ask whether, as my King is engaged in fighting his enemies, I, his servant, will be doing well to keep aloof watching him being attacked by enemies.

“‘As I am unable to be with my King in person, I beg to know whether I may show my loyalty and the loyalty of the Basutos to His Majesty the King by giving monetary assistance to be raised by calling on each Mosuto to pay a sum of 1s. as a contribution to the funds now raised for relief of sufferers by the war.

“‘The Basutos and myself are grieved at seeing our King attacked by enemies when we, his servants, cannot assist him.’

“This offer has been gratefully accepted.”

This offer of the Basuto nation has gradually increased, and in September 1917 Reuter reported: “The Basuto have for-

warded to the King a further sum of £10,026 on behalf of various war funds. Their total gifts now total £52,887."

Other Bantu chiefs throughout South Africa have also contributed liberally to the various war funds. Thus Chief Molala of Batlaping gave the Union Government 200 head of cattle to provide beef for the British troops; Chief Khama of Bamangwato gave close on £1000, and the late Chief Lewanika of Barotse-land gave £200. All Bantu nations and tribes in the British colonies and protectorates have each come forward according to their means, and voluntarily contributed to the war funds.

Not only have the coloured races of South Africa given money, but they have given men in hundreds of thousands in the cause of the Empire.

Early in the history of the war some 15,000 coloured men (*i.e.* Eur-Africans) (as distinguished from Bantu) declared themselves ready to proceed with the Union Forces to German South-West Africa. The rejection of their help by the Government on the ground of their colour was the source of much letter writing in the papers. They claimed that they had a right to participate in the great struggle, to fight for the Empire of which they were subjects—"What chance have we ever had to prove that we have a right to the protection we are getting from the Crown? We are men as well as our white brethren, then why not let us stand by them and help to carry their burdens? . . . Let us have a chance to earn the privileges we have so long enjoyed, without any sacrifice on our part." Another writes: "We realise how much we owe to the British nation for the advanced state we are in to-day, and we are willing to pay the price by sacrificing our lives on the field of battle against the foes of the Empire; sooner 'down' us than 'down' that glorious Empire." These extracts are taken from the *Christian Express* of 1st September 1915. This journal is published in the Missionary Institute of Lovedale. It interprets between white and black and has more facilities for doing so successfully than any other paper in South Africa. Commenting of the appeal of the Cape Coloured people for service, the *Christian Express* said:—

"In our opinion this appeal ought to receive a hearty response. The Cape Coloured man has the makings of a good soldier if well led. He has, as one of themselves puts it, 'dash, dodge, and courage.' Physically he is superior, man for man, to the Indian; he has endurance too and can survive on scant

rations where necessary. There is ample precedent for accepting such service. The New Zealanders are accompanied by Maoris; three battalions of the West Indian Regiment are now in Liverpool preparatory to going to Flanders; we have many Indians in our fighting line, and our ally, France, has her North African troops there too. We believe if this readiness of the Cape Coloured men is taken advantage of not only would they prove their fitness in the field, but the trust reposed in them and honour put upon them would give them a new stake in the country, bring to them a fresh accession of loyalty and increase their self-respect. Can anyone suggest a worthy name by which they should be henceforth officially designated to replace the amorphous 'Cape Coloured'?"

A mass meeting of the Cape coloured people (Eur-Africans) was held in the City Hall of Cape Town to express their loyalty to the King and declare their willingness to fight for the Empire. When after a time the military authorities decided to form a Cape Corps for transport work, the coloured people exemplified their patriotic zeal by a ready response, and the first contingent was formed almost immediately. The Bantu people also, throughout the length and breadth of South Africa, held meetings to express their loyalty to His Britannic Majesty, and, through their chiefs and leaders, appealed to the Government to arm them so that they might fight for the Empire. The martially disposed Zulus, the valiant Basuto, the vigorous Xosas, and even the peaceful Bechuana—all were equally ready to take the field and join in the great adventure. It must, however, not be. White South Africa was inexorable. Argument was futile. The fact that thousands of coal black sons of Africa were fighting side by side with the Allies at the front had no weight. The war was still a white man's war. The fact that Indians had voluntarily crossed the high seas to bleed for the Empire they loved best was first bitterly resented and then purposely ignored.

Some such articles had appeared in the South African white press *re* Indian armies.

COLOURED TROOPS AND THE WAR

"The news that Great Britain intends to employ Indian native troops against the Germans has come as a shock to many South Africans. We can but hope the news is incorrect. In

our opinion it would be a fatal mistake to use coloured troops against the whites, more especially as plenty of whites are available. From the English standpoint there is probably nothing offensive in the suggestion. Most home people do not seem to see anything repugnant in black boxers fighting whites, but they have not had to live in the midst of a black population. If the Indians are used against the Germans it means that they will return to India disabused of the respect they should bear for the white race. The Empire must uphold the principle that a coloured man must not raise his hand against a white man if there is to be any law or order in either India, Africa, or any part of the Empire where the white man rules over a large concourse of coloured people. In South Africa it will mean that the natives will secure pictures of whites being chased by coloured men, and who knows what harm such pictures may do? That France is employing coloured troops is no excuse. Two blacks in any case do not make a white. The employment of native troops against Germany will be a hard blow on the prestige of the white man" (*East Rand Express*, as quoted by Mr. S. T. Plaatje in *Native Life in South Africa*, pp. 282, 283).

And so the appeals of the Bantu and coloured races of British South Africa to the Government evoked, as might be expected, one stereotyped reply, "that among other things the Government does not desire to avail itself of the services in a combatant capacity of citizens not of European descent in the present hostilities. Apart from other considerations, the present war is one which has its origin among the white peoples of Europe, and the Government is anxious to avoid the employment of coloured citizens in a warfare against whites."

One way was, however, left open by which the Bantu peoples could give expression to their loyalty in a practical manner, and they were not slow in making full use of the opportunity. A need of men was early felt in the German West African Campaign, for transport work, the construction of railways, and sundry non-combatant duties. In a short time the Government was able to enrol between 23,000 and 24,000 Bantu volunteers for these various duties. The experiment worked so well that it was soon tried on a larger scale, and for duties farther from home, and the Bantu embraced the opportunity with avidity.

Thousands were shipped to the war zone in France in the late autumn of 1916 to do the important work of loading, unload-

ing, transport, and construction. This, the South African Native Labour Contingent, is now a matter of common knowledge. All Bantu nationalities and tribes of British South Africa were represented. Basuto, Zulus, Bechuana, Fingoes, Xosas were gathered in France, some 6000 miles away from their homes, in the interests of their British protectors. The contingent was under the command of Colonel S. M. Pritchard, an official in the South African Native Affairs Department.

“The actual work in which these natives have been engaged has been off-loading ships in French harbours with cargoes of hay, timber, ammunition, oats, flour and other stores: off and on-loading trains with shells and small-arm ammunition (the very biggest shells are handled by them, and that in expert fashion), construction and repair of railways and roads, forest work, felling, measuring, sawing, loading and despatching trees; building of hangars, quarry work, general labour in engineers’ stores, etc.

“All this has been done in France, and all are working at the Base or on the lines of communication, away from the firing line. Of the value and quality of the work done the reports have been excellent. The King, General Haig, General Maxwell, C.M.G., and General Gibb, Director of Labour, have all made speeches in appreciation of the work done by the contingent.”—*Captain Hertslet, R.A.M.C.*

On 10th July 1917 these sable warriors were honoured by a visit from His Majesty the King, who spoke to them as follows:

“I have much pleasure in seeing you who have travelled so far over the sea to help in this great war. I take the opportunity of thanking you and your comrades for the work done in France by the South African Labour Corps. Reports have been given me of the valuable services rendered by the natives of South Africa to my armies in German South-West Africa and German East Africa. The loyalty of my native subjects is fully shown by the helpful part you are taking in this world-wide war. Rest assured that all you have done is of great assistance to my armies at the front. This work of yours is second only in importance to that of my sailors and soldiers who are bearing the brunt of the battle. But you also are part of my great armies which are fighting for liberty and freedom of my subjects of all races and creeds throughout the Empire. Without munitions of war, my armies cannot fight. Without food, they cannot live. You are helping to send these things

to them each day and in doing so you are hurling your assegais at the enemy and hastening the destruction which awaits him. A large corps such as yours requires drafts and reinforcements, and I am sure your chiefs will take upon themselves this duty of supporting your battalions with ever-increasing numbers. I wish them and all their peoples to share with all my loyal subjects that great and final victory which will bring peace throughout the world. I desire you to make these words of mine known to your people here and to convey them to your chiefs in South Africa"—(from the *African World* of 21st July 1917).

Hundreds of the Bantu people connected with the South African Native Labour Contingent have already laid down their lives for the Empire of which they are subjects. In March (1917) 600 of them went to their last account by the unhappy accident whereby their ship—the *Mendi*—collided with another steamer off the Isle of Wight on a foggy night. They are said to have faced their fate "like men," without panic or confusion. Shortly before the *Mendi* disaster, a French steamer—the *Athos*—containing Senegalese coloured troops proceeding to the theatre of war, was sunk in the Mediterranean by a German submarine. The black troops lined up on the deck in a most orderly manner, and went down saluting the French tricolour flag.

The *Mochochonono* (*Comet*), a Bantu newspaper of Basutoland, reports the following speech made by Griffiths, the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, exhorting his people—the Basutos—to go to France and help to win the war. The speech was made on the 3rd December 1917 at a *pitso* (assembly) held at the chief's "great place" or official residence.

Paramount Chief Griffiths or Letsie III. of Basutoland said: "I greet you Basuto. It is several occasions, I can remember well, that I have spoken to you on the matter of going overseas. I have been informed that only one thousand have responded and this adds to my surprise and deep regret, to hear and to know that only one thousand have responded. Have I to be proud of only one thousand young men? Are there no more young men besides the one thousand who will enlist in my honour? Have I only to be proud of one thousand young Basuto in the whole Basutoland? This heritage, the peace of this country, was left by Moshoeshoe, who implored the British Government to protect him and his blanket and its lice. He accepted this peace, lived in it, and died in it. Letsie I.

accepted it, lived in it, and died in it. Lerotholi accepted it, lived in it, and died in it. Letsie II. accepted it, lived in it, and died in it.

“ These of whom I am speaking worked for this peace. Now you, who inherit this peace with me, turn against me. Whom do you expect to inherit this peace with me? Young men, you prefer Labour Agents who send you to the mines, to me. The mines from which I derive no benefits. You refuse to work for this peace to which you are the inheritors together with me. The mines have brought upon me the burden of up keeping those of you who have lost sight from blasting powder, who have lost their legs and arms and even, unto this day are living with me in this peace. Young men, you look down when I am speaking to you, do you really turn against me before the Government? It is said that you say it is only those who wish to go that go. I say it is your duty to go and labour for peace. What do you say? You ask who will accompany you. The sons of Moshoeshoe are there to go with you, Seeiso and Majara have gone. All those who have gone and the others who shall hereafter enlist shall look to Seeiso as your head. He is waiting for you at Rosebank and his juniors Molapo and Thabo Mojela have sailed with some of the people.

“ You think that I do not care for those who have gone to Europe: I care for them more than I care for you who turn against me, and I say henceforth I must not be troubled with cries for lands because I shall not listen to you as you do not obey me.”

Such is the way in which the Bantu have “ hurled their assegais ” at the enemies of Great Britain, and contributed to the final victory. Are they not entitled to hope for some of the fruits of that victory? “ I wish your chiefs and all their peoples to share with all my loyal subjects that great and final victory ”¹—i.e. the joys, the sweets, the fruits of victory. Such is the *practical* manner in which the Bantu have expressed their loyalty to the British Empire. Will the British recognise that loyalty in a *practical* manner?

¹ The King's speech to the Bantu Corps.

CHAPTER XXV

1. BANTU NATIONAL CONGRESS

IT seems to be a characteristic of barbarous people that that self-evident truth "union is strength" is not understood and not practised by them. How common it is, for instance, to hear of a small military tribe dispersing several tribes whose total number was many times greater, but to whom the idea of combining to oppose the common enemy seems never to have occurred.

One boon resulting from the occupation of South Africa by the Europeans—by the British—has been the stop they have put to internecine warfare. But things have gone much further. The spread of civilisation and education in their various channels have brought several members of different Bantu tribes and nationalities together. But yesterday, a Xosa, a Mosuto (pl., Basuto), a Zulu, and a Muchuana (pl., Bechuana) saw no good in each other except as a fit subject for the assegai and the knobkerrie; to-day they sit side by side on the benches at missionary schools, play together at football and cricket, work side by side in the mining compounds of Johannesburg and Kimberley, and thus coming into constant contact, and living on friendly terms they learn each others' language, discover worthiness in each other and learn to admire each other's good qualities.

But on a large scale, perhaps the most potent cohesive force is adversity, or—to be plain—repression.

Among the Bantu, though there was never in practice a policy of equal rights for white and black in Southern Africa, yet so long as they were not subjected to any repressive legislation the need for uniting does not seem to have presented itself forcibly to them at any time. But it is notable that as the legislation for the Bantu has become more and more

stringent, in that proportion has there been a general understanding, an organisation and a uniting of the Bantu people—first in small local congresses of one or two nationalities, then in larger bodies comprising representatives of several nationalities or tribes, and finally in one general Bantu Congress in which all the South African Bantu are well represented.

Earnest repressive legislation for the Bantu dates from the Union of the States of South Africa, and from that time dates also the General Congress of the Bantu. The prime moving spirit of this organisation is Mr. P. ka Seme, a Bantu lawyer of English training.

This Bantu Congress, or the South African Native National Congress as it is officially but unhappily called, concerns itself with political measures affecting the Bantu or natives of South Africa and points, in an unassuming manner, to those that are to their prejudice, lays before the Union Government the grievances of the Bantu against what Bills they consider calculated to do them harm when they become law, and uses *all* available constitutional methods for defeating such laws. The Congress is not aggressive in spirit nor militant in practice. It is the reverse. It inculcates loyalty to the rulers. It believes in moderation. But moderate steps fail in South Africa, and the Bantu Congress was in 1914, after trying all moderate steps and constitutional means, obliged to send a deputation to England to appeal for Imperial protection against the Natives' Land Act, 1913, which they considered was calculated to reduce them to serfdom.

In June 1917, the South African Native National Congress met in Bloemfontein and adopted the following resolutions:—

“1. This Congress, assembled in Bloemfontein, strongly opposes the Native Affairs Administration Bill, and binds itself, severally and collectively, to agitate for its defeat.

“2. This Congress hereby decides to appoint a committee to investigate all cases of shooting of natives by Europeans in each province, and to place the result before the Government.

“3. This Congress views with great alarm the revival of the anti-colour principles disclosed in both the Native Affairs Administration Bill and General Smuts' speech in England, as reported in the public press. The Congress regards this as an ultimatum to the British people and the Dominions on the native question. The natives of this continent are loyal subjects of His Majesty King George V., and most emphatically

deny that either General Smuts or the Union Government have any right to rob the natives of their human rights and guarantees of liberty and freedom under the Pax Britannica.”

These resolutions speak for themselves and need no further comment than that they are the natural result of a uniformly illiberal and repressive native policy adopted by the South African Union Parliament.

2. BANTU PRESS

The only way in which information was spread among the Bantu in their primitive state was by oral repetition. With the reduction of their language to writing and the steady increase in civilisation and education among them, the need of more efficient ways of spreading information, especially of passing events, has made itself felt and given rise to newspapers in the Bantu languages—Xosa, Zulu, Sesuto, and Sechuana. But so far the Bantu press is still in its infancy and suffers from the diseases and other affections incident to that period of life—inexperience, feebleness, and high mortality. Many have been the papers which have been started in one Bantu language or another, and have flourished vigorously—to all appearance—for a few months or years and then died—suddenly or slowly—to be heard of no more. Such has been the fate of *Izwi la Bantu* (*The Voice of the People*), *Koranta ea Becoana* (*The Bechuana Mail*), and *Moemeli* (*The Advocate*) among others.

But the Bantu are not a reading public. Of the 7,000,000 Bantu south of the Zambesi only a small percentage can read, and a still smaller percentage can write. Of the small percentage that so reads, only a few care to do so and are prepared to expend a little of their money on literature and newspapers. That love of the newspaper which is so characteristic of the British people, and especially of their labouring class—when all things are considered—is entirely absent in the Bantu. Among them, a man would far sooner use his threepenny piece for purchasing food than invest it in newspapers. The result is that those ambitious men of the race who edit newspapers with a view to increasing the range of information among their people, find it impossible to induce a sufficiently large number to subscribe to the papers, which thus largely depend, for a time, on commercial advertisements, and then, perhaps, on the printer's patrimony, and ultimately fail.

The oldest and best-known of the Bantu papers is the *Imvo*, edited and published at King William's Town by Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu in English and Sixosa (language of Ama-Xosa and Fingoes). It is above thirty years old, has a wide circulation, and has long been regarded as expressing native or Bantu opinion. Its full name is *Imvo Zaba Ntsundu*, that is the *Opinions of the Brown People*, i.e. the Bantu. The *Imvo* has fully deserved its wide reputation, but native opinion is, seriously speaking, often a mere political expression for the native editor's views, or at most his and his immediate coterie's; and in recent years, when several Bantu papers have been published, they have expressed conflicting opinions, falling roughly into two hostile camps, each claiming, however, to represent the orthodox Bantu opinion. The fact of the matter is, there is no such thing as "native opinion" in politics, if numbers count in the matter. The average Muntu (pl., Bantu) cares little and knows less about politics, and is generally incapable of forming an independent opinion on any legislative measure unless it has been fully explained to him, its benefits extolled or its dangers magnified, and, in fact, an opinion suggested to him by one or other of the Bantu leaders, who are thus rather the advocates than mouthpieces of their people.

Such a national illusion is, of course, not peculiar to the Bantu, but similar examples can be found in all nations from the lowest to the highest. How often a nation has gone to war—well-advised or ill-advised—and the man in the street believed that the declaration of war was his personal act, while in fact the matter was settled by a handful of men—the leaders.

Miss V. R. Markham, in *South Africa Past and Present*, p. 266, says: "The political aspirations of the Kaffirs are well summed up in the person of Tengo Jabavu, editor of the *Imvo*, a Kaffir paper which is published at King William's Town. The *Imvo* has a very large circulation, and Jabavu himself is looked upon as the prophet of the educated Kaffir. He has much influence in the Eastern Province, and politically is a mugwump, sometimes favouring the Dutch, sometimes the English. It is the duty of the Kaffir, says Jabavu, to listen from which side the wind blows and to profit by it accordingly."

It may be said of all leaders of the Bantu that they are political prophets, but it is doubtful whether any of them, among them Mr Jabavu, has any maxim of profiting by espousing the course of the strong or political party in power.

Further, while Mr. Jabavu is remarkable for wit and for his rich store of sententious sayings, we are not sure that the one which concludes the above quotation is one of his. It sounds unusually much like an apophthegm attributed to one Xosa chief: "I shall not sit between two fires until I know which way the wind blows."

Besides the *Imvo*, which easily takes the first place in Bantu journalism, the other Bantu papers worthy of note are the *Naledi ea Lesotho* (*The Star of Basutoland*), edited by Mr. A. Monyakwane and published in Sesuto (language of the Basuto) and English at Maseru in Basutoland. The next paper is *Ilanga lase Natal* (*The Sun of Natal*), edited by the Rev. John L. Dube in Zulu and English.

Two other more recent papers are *Tsala ea Batho* (*The People's Friend*) and *Abantu or Batho*, the one published in Sechuana and English in Kimberley, and edited by Mr. Solomon Plaatje, and the other edited and published by a competent staff comprising Messrs. Kunene and Soga at Johannesburg.

The Eur-African and Malay population of South Africa in 1904 formed themselves into a body (The African Political Organisation), which has an organ of the same name, edited at Cape Town by Dr. A. Abdurrahman. The organisation has for its aims the advancement of "Coloured" People, and the defence of their political rights.¹

¹ The first Bantu paper ever published was *Indaba* (*News*), printed at Lovedale. Its day was short. It was succeeded by *Imvo Zontsundu ne Liso Lomzi* (*Brown People's Opinion and Guardian of the Realm*), 1884, which became (?) the *Imvo Zaba Ntsundu* (*Brown People's Opinions*) of to-day.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PRESENT SOCIAL CONDITION—A RÉSUMÉ

It is difficult to make a comprehensive statement of the mental development and moral condition of the Bantu, because they are in all stages of civilisation. While some are civilised and educationally stand high, others are entirely untouched by either European civilisation or education. Between these two extremes there is a large mass of variously civilised—some just groping their way across the frontiers which separate civilisation from barbarism, and others again well into the territories of civilisation. Part II. of this work or “The Past” has been given almost entirely to the consideration of the Bantu in their pristine condition; Part III. or “The Present” has concerned itself with the consideration of their condition in contact with European people, and, in this chapter, it falls due to sum up the facts of this consideration, and, in doing so, it will be convenient to consider the Bantu in three ascending grades.

1. *The Low Grade.*—The highly-educated Muntu (pl., Bantu) is a *rara avis*, though he is not, except from a purely numerical standpoint, a negligible quantity. We are therefore left to treat in this chapter, mainly of the large mass of the Bantu who are in the transition stage, and who may be regarded as forming the average of the race from the standpoint of civilisation. This transition stage is, perhaps, the worst and most dangerous that a people—certainly the Bantu—can be in. For what does it signify? Barbarism has its vices, but it has also its virtues. *Per contra*, civilisation has its virtues, but it is not without many vices. Now the transition stage may be said to see the good in barbarism and civilisation, but follow the evil of both; to unite the vices, the dangers, and disadvan-

tages of barbarism and civilisation, and fail to seize the virtues, the safeguards, and advantages of both or either.

As pointed out before, the tribal collectivism of the Bantu, with its beliefs, its superstitions, customs, and traditions, was a safeguard to the morals of the people. Partial civilisation means decentralisation, the dawn of individualism, and a shattering of ancient beliefs and superstitions. They are shattered but not replaced by any new beliefs. Customs and traditions are despised and rejected, but no new customs and traditions are acquired, or can be acquired. The new individual is a spiritual and moral void. Outwardly, indeed, he may don a civilised appearance—European clothing, European language, European ideas, European manners, and live in European houses. Nay, some even sink their native names and adopt European names, and some, without knowing European languages, forget, or pretend to forget, their mother tongue—that last index of identity. They lose all trace of national pride, and are cut clean adrift from tribal moorings. And what is the reason for all this? The metamorphosing Bantu themselves don't know and don't care. Hardly on the threshold of civilisation, they consider themselves already changed beings—and changed indeed they are, but only for the worse. Copying form for fact, and substituting shadow for substance, understanding nothing, but mimicking all the time, such people are an utter void, and they suffer for it—both morally and physically—for neglecting their tribal lore, with its beneficial influences and its drawbacks. But what is more, the loitering on the outskirts of civilisation does not act deleteriously only in the passive or negative way of unlearning the national lore. It also acts actively or positively. Civilisation comes with its vices—drink and immoralities, with their long train of suffering.

Drink.—From time immemorial the Bantu, and, in fact, all Negroes, have been bibbers of fermented liquors extracted from various kinds of corn, but the amount of alcohol contained in their porridge-like beer was very small, and drunkenness among the people was comparatively rare. The European trader, always coming in the wake of the missionary, and always more active because bound down by no principles, has brought with him, amongst other things, powerful spirituous liquors, which have been a potent causal factor in the extinction of some races, alike in America and South Africa, and which are now grappling the virile Bantu people. The spread of drunkenness among

the urban Bantu has given rise to much anxiety on the part of several Bantu reformers and European well-wishers of the Bantu, and the question of total prohibition is one that has, every now and then, been raised by them. But the subject of class prohibition is a thorny question, to which there are two sides, and one also which seems to lend itself to much misunderstanding and admit of subjective feelings. Those in favour of total prohibition state that the Bantu are, as a race, children without self-dependence and self-control, under the care of the Europeans, who must therefore decide for them, and keep from them whatsoever is likely to be injurious to their welfare.

Others of the European race favour prohibition to the black and coloured people of South Africa, not from the prospect of any good that may result to them therefrom, but simply because it would be class legislation, securing the privilege (if it deserves that name) of drink to the more advanced race, and denying it to the backward races.

On the other side, there are several Bantu who insist on equal treatment, and, while recognising the good intentions of the first class of prohibitionists, and appreciating the dangers of unrestricted liquor traffic, are opposed to restriction because it would be class prohibition. They argue that they should be allowed, as a race, to face Nature's test of strength—the grappling with difficulties—and so find out the dangers for themselves, and also the advantages of abstinence, or at least acquire the immunity with which the principle of class prohibition tacitly credits the privileged section of the community.

We do not believe that there are any people ungenerous enough to advocate "free drink," or at least oppose "total prohibition" for the Bantu because they see in that a solution of the South African race problem—that is, by physical annihilation and ultimate extinction of the Bantu, or the hope of such a fatality.

A third class, that carries much weight, is opposed to total prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to the Bantu and coloured people, because the people of this class have an interest in the liquor traffic, and the doing away by prohibition, with so many consumers of their noxious produce would, of course, mean a loss of thousands of pounds per annum.

The diabolical effects of alcohol among the half-civilised Bantu, no less than among any other people who have free access to it, cannot be exaggerated. In the larger towns, like

Johannesburg and Cape Town, the consumption of alcohol seems to be on a steady rise among the people, and, of course, the effects can easily be understood. True to its colours, alcohol is diminishing their wage-earning capacity, increasing crime among them, filling the prisons and supplying the gallows with them, and degrading them. Besides this moral degradation, it devitalises them, and so renders them easy victims to various kinds of diseases, especially in the mining districts of Witwatersrand, where debauched, semi-civilised Bantu miners fall a ready prey to the prevalent and destructive *acute lobar pneumonia* and miner's phthisis (silicosis—interstitial pneumonia). All these effects are the readier to supervene, since it is generally the cheapest and worst kinds of drinks that are sold to the blacks; thus there used to be a commodity which was said to contain a fair admixture of methylated spirits and a small percentage of sulphuric acid, known as "Cape Smoke."

Immorality.—This question has already been referred to in previous chapters—IX., X., and XI. We have there shown how the Bantu social system was a restraining and controlling force in the relationship of the sexes, and, at the same time, a necessary and effectual safeguard to tribal morality; how prostitution was unknown, and, in consequence, the scourge of diseases which are its concomitants.

But, under the new conditions of transition, where a pseudo-European individualism has been grafted or superimposed on the Bantu communism, where the restraints of custom, tradition, and superstition have ceased to be operative, without a substitution of new restraints of reason, knowledge, and true religion; under the transitional conditions, sexual crimes have appeared on the scene, and venereal diseases are becoming rampant and sapping the manhood of the Bantu.

A new form of sexual crime, in the form of assaults on women, and known among the South African white people as "Black Peril," has, in recent years, obtruded itself into public notice. From all that has been said, it will be predicted that the totally uncivilised Bantu and the civilised or educated ones are quite clear of so revolting an offence—the former because of their control by tribal ethics, and, to a much less extent, because they have a strange horror of any skin that is not the colour of theirs—black; and the latter—the educated Bantu—because they are controlled by moral feelings,

Christian ethics, a sense of honour, and, perhaps, fear of the consequences. It is the *dis*-uncivilised, and yet not civilised, black, the man just stepping across the line between non-civilisation and civilisation, that is the culprit. It is neither the uncivilised nor the civilised Muntu, but the non-civilised that is guilty of such crimes. Such non-civilised or half-civilised people generally commit these offences in their capacity as domestic servants or "kitchen boys," as they are called. In Natal and Transvaal, where the employment of kitchen boys is much in vogue, cases of assaults on women preponderate. In Orange Free State, where the kitchen boy is not so common, assaults are very few and far between. In the Cape Province, in spite of the fact that it has the largest population of black and white among the four provinces, the cases of assault are unknown, because the kitchen boy is practically unknown. All kitchen boys, be it noted again, are recruited neither from the raw nor from the educated Bantu, but from those who have latterly come into urban areas for the first time and hired themselves out in some ordinary occupations. Under such conditions they have often come into contact with, or under the pernicious influence of, the white proletariat class and the human refuse of civilisation to be found in all industrial centres. For "great towns are peculiar seed-plots of vice, and it is extremely questionable whether they produce any special and equivalent efflorescence of virtues, for even the social virtues are probably more cultivated in small populations where men live in more intimate relationship."¹

It has, however, been proved over and over again that the women (white) thus assaulted with intent, have often been as much to blame as, or more so than their assailants.

Luxury.—Civilisation brings with it other evils apart from those of wrong thinking—over-eating, and over-drinking. The Muntu has good teeth and is free from toothache until he takes to eating sweets and sweetmeats. Originally he lived in the open air, with just enough clothing to cover the loins, and, in cold weather, just enough additional clothing to keep him warm. So long as he lived thus naturally, his span of life extended to seventy, eighty, and ninety years, and it was not uncommon to meet people who were a hundred years old. In the transition stage, many a Muntu lives in urban locations in tin houses which contravene sanitary laws "point by point." He uses, in-

¹ W. E. H. Lecky.

correctly, European dress with its such unnecessary additions—especially in South African warm weather—as collars and gaiters.

The net result of this incorrect, because unintelligent, use of European habitations and wear—in hot or cold, dry or wet weather, and in all manner of occupations—is disease. So when an epidemic, say of typhoid fever or dysentery, breaks out, its toll is sure to be far greater among the non-civilised or half-civilised Bantu in these locations than in the European quarters, or among the raw tribes in the open country.

Tuberculosis is spreading among these Bantu in the transition stage at a rate that is alarming to contemplate, for it claims thousands of victims.

When one considers all these facts stated, one cannot but wonder whether, in spite of their proverbial fecundity, the Bantu are not bound to decline in numbers, and if there is such a decline, how far it may not proceed.

Such, however, are some of the effects of a little knowledge. In that way do these Bantu just on the threshold of civilisation completely misunderstand and completely misinterpret all civilisation, and, failing to appreciate its true significance, blindly grasp and blindly adopt its symbols only, without the staying power of knowledge. They have nothing of the new civilisation to hold on to, and nothing of their old civilisation or tribalism to fall back upon. Little wonder then that they are tossed and wafted by “every wind that blows.”

Unfortunately it is not the civilised and educated Muntu, nor the entirely uncivilised one, who has most to do with the South African Colonist—Boer or British. It is the non-civilised or half-civilised man in the transition stage who is the farm-hand, the cattle-herd, the domestic or house servant, the “kitchen boy,” the store messenger, the tradesman’s assistant, and a thousand and one other such things. He it is who has most to do with and for the European, and he it is, almost invariably, who is adversely criticised, but erroneously called the “educated Kafir,” “mission native,” “Christian Kafir,” and so on, and pointed at, when he gets into trouble, as a typical product of the mission school, and the quintessence of the effects of education on the Kafir, and so straight comes off the hysterical and alarming discovery—“Education spoils the Kafir!”

The truth of the matter is, such a Muntu, as pointed out in the case of the “kitchen boy,” has, in most cases, never attended

a mission school, or, for that matter, any form of school at all; for, owing to the Government's indifference to Bantu education, and the consequent absence of the boon of compulsory education for them, masses of Bantu children grow up, even in towns, quite blameless of education.

The only "education" which the object of criticism has received often is detribalisation and familiarity with the lower classes of European city life. But supposing he had been to school, as may very rarely be the case, the school is one of the small village or country day schools, where, at best, he has received education far less than a child of ten receives at a British public school. Such, at best, is what declaimers *are pleased to call* the "educated Kafir."

2. *The Middle Grade.*—For the acquisition of education itself there is a general desire among the Bantu, and, in spite of the various difficulties, the mission schools throughout the country are crowded with Bantu youth. To what end, however, this elementary education is being acquired is probably a question which has troubled comparatively few, for the Bantu are remarkable for a certain positivistic philosophism, a certain disinclination or disdain to inquire into causes and effects. And education may be with them simply a rage, a fashion prompted by imitation, perhaps, but, no doubt, some see in it a means whereby national emancipation may be accelerated.

But whether driven by imitation or by intelligent foresight to acquire education, the self-emancipating Muntu soon has his mental eyes open to many things to which they were blind. He now witnesses, is struck with, and perplexed by the manifold antitheses, contradictions, and inconsistencies between the precepts and practices of the new civilisation. Perhaps he is mistaken, so he looks closer and examines more carefully. He confirms his first observations, and corroborative evidence comes from all quarters.

In religion he hears of, and witnesses, rivalry and dissensions between sister-churches, which worship the same God. The very existence of so many churches is, in fact, to him a puzzling and unaccountable state of affairs. Then he hears the missionary preach one thing, and he sees the trader do quite another, and, perhaps, opposite thing, and to him missionary and trader belong to the same tribe and should be governed by one and the same ethical code. Thus, to illustrate this fact, the feelings of respect which the Muntu formerly entertained for every white

man were inspired by the missionary, who in nearly every case treated him (Muntu) justly and kindly. The Muntu concluded that all Europeans were just and kind as the missionary, and therefore worthy the same respect, but he soon met easy-going traders and unscrupulous Europeans. He was struck by the want of uniformity in the European methods and the glaring discrepancy between their preaching and practice. The whole race lost his good opinion, and now he accepts each member at his face value.

Then again the Muntu is told of brotherly love and such kind feelings of which he is never the happy object, but on the contrary only sees and experiences the reverse of brotherly love, for whatever the conditions may be elsewhere, in South Africa the principles of human brotherhood which the Christian religion insists upon, and earnestly inculcates, have not been even tentatively carried out in practice.

In this way the Muntu perhaps puts the whole thing—civilisation with its religion and teachings—down as a mere sham, a counterfeit, and a dangerous tissue of sophistry and chicanery. The impression created in his mind is, in fact, strictly comparable to that which law and lawyers create in the mind of his totally barbarous brother, who believes that law is a lie, and that lawyer and liar are perfectly interchangeable terms, for, he argues, how could a clever lawyer always, or nearly always, manage to get his client off howsoever “tainted and corrupt” his plea, and though he be to all lay appearance guilty; how else could a good lawyer do it but by lying, and lying avidiously.

Or, better still, his impression of civilisation may be like that of Jean Jacques Rousseau, as expressed in his *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences*, for, says Rousseau, “Before art had moulded our behaviour, and taught our passions to speak an artificial language, our morals were made but natural; and the different ways in which we behaved proclaimed at the first glance the difference of our dispositions. Human nature was not at bottom better than now; but men found their security in the ease with which they could see through one another, and this advantage of which we no longer feel the value prevented their having many vices.

“In our day, now that subtle study and a more refined taste have reduced the art of pleasing to a system, there prevails in modern manners a servile and deceptive conformity, so that one would think every mind has been cast in the same

mould. Politeness requires this thing; decorum that; ceremony has its forms, and fashion its laws, and these we must always follow—never the promptings of our own nature.

“ We no longer dare seem what we really are, but lie under a perpetual restraint; in the meantime the herd of men, which we call society, all act under the same circumstances exactly alike, unless very particular and powerful motives prevent them. Thus we never know with whom we have to deal; and even to know our friends we must wait for some critical and pressing occasion; that is, till it is too late; for it is on those very occasions that such knowledge is of use to us.

“ What a train of vices must attend this uncertainty! Sincere friendship, real esteem, and perfect confidence are banished from among men. Jealousy, suspicion, fear, coldness, reserve, hate, and fraud lie constantly concealed under that uniform and deceitful veil of politeness, that boasted candour and urbanity, for which we are indebted to the light and leading of this age. We shall no longer take in vain by our oaths the name of our Creator; but we shall insult Him with our blasphemies, and our scrupulous ears will take no offence. We have grown too modest to brag of our own deserts; but we do not scruple to decry those of others. We do not grossly outrage even our enemies, but artfully calumniate them. Our hatred of other nations diminishes, but patriotism dies with it. Ignorance is held in contempt; but a dangerous scepticism has succeeded it. Some vices indeed are condemned and others grown dishonourable; but we have still many that are honoured with the names of virtues, and it is become necessary that we should either have or at least pretend to have them. . . .

“ Suppose an inhabitant of some distant country should endeavour to form an idea of European morals from the state of the sciences, the perfection of the arts, the propriety of our public entertainments, the politeness of our behaviour, our constant professions of benevolence, and from these tumultuous assemblies of people of all ranks, who seem, from morning till night, to have no other care than to oblige one another. Such a stranger, I maintain, would arrive at a totally false view of our morality. . . . Our minds have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and sciences have improved.

“ The daily ebb and flow of the tides are not more regularly influenced by the moon than the morals of a people by the

progress of the arts and sciences. As their light has risen above our horizon, virtue has taken flight."

There is among many of the Bantu youth who have received some education at training schools, institutions, or colleges, a grave and unfortunate circumstance observable—grave and unfortunate because calculated to delay the race-awakening. This circumstance consists in a generalised incapacity of the people to sufficiently appreciate their backwardness, a widespread self-complaisance with the very little progress they have achieved, and an over-confidence and mistaken belief that a few decades of instruction, whether in material or spiritual matters, can raise them to the level of those nations who to-day lead civilisation, and have been prepared for that exalted position by centuries of strenuous endeavour, earnest application, and unremitting activity.

It is clear that so long as such fallacious beliefs prevail, so long as such mirage befogs the Bantu intellect, so long will any real progress be impossible.

This peculiar lack of due appreciation of even self-evident facts seems to be as much characteristic and indicative of ignorance as the co-existence of dogmatism and intolerance, for it is a feature of ignorant people that they not only do not think it possible that their opinions may be wrong, but they are also sure that everybody else's opinion is wrong.

Now, individual as well as national pride may be condoned—national pride is in fact to be encouraged, but individual or national arrogance is reprehensible, even when there is reason for that arrogance, as where the nation has made a name for itself, or the individual for himself in history. Where no such thing has been done, however, arrogance, pride, over-confidence, and self-complaisance can only spring from inability to analyse and ignorance to appreciate facts.

The Bantu, as a race, are unknown in the history of the world's progress, and their comparatively few men who have received secondary education at the missionary training schools—the best schools they can get in the country—and among whom such absurd notions of progress have sprouted, are entirely unknown in Bantu history. The fact of the matter is, these are but partially educated people, who for want of a more liberal instruction fail to recognise that for the individual the road to knowledge is rugged, long, tortuous, and leads up a steep incline; and for the nation, progress depends on the

accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, the whole work being geologic in time.

3. *The Upper Grade.*—There are, of course, speaking absolutely, many Bantu of superior ability, whether by “higher” education and self-emancipation, or by natural talent improved by education. Individual Bantu of this class will take their place beside the educated class of any nation, excel and be excelled. The number of these is, however, very small proportionately to the entire Bantu population of Southern Africa. However small in number these intellectually advanced Bantu, they are really not a *quantité négligeable*, or should not be. Every nation is directly led on and lifted up by its exceptional men under the auspices of the more advanced race with whom it is in contact. The exceptional men of the backward race are the interpreters, the demonstrators and exponents of the new and higher civilisation to their struggling brethren. They are also the mouthpiece and representatives of their fellow-countrymen to the advanced ruling race.

The Bantu exceptional men are no exception to this general law, whether as regards the uplifting, or the defending their race, though it must be clear that the efforts in either direction are, in so feeble a race, necessarily feeble. They are not based on any grand lines of science or art. There are among the Bantu race no Beethovens and Tschaikowskis of the betwitching art of music, no Newtons and Galileos of star-eyed science, no Kochs and Pasteurs of the medical science, no Dantes and Shakespeares, nor Michael Angelos and Joshua Reynoldses, nor Pitts and Richelieus, nor Knoxes and Wesleys, nor even Alexanders (the Great) and Napoleons—all men who have left their impress upon the world, and shine as stars of the first magnitude in the several firmaments of music, pure science, medical science, poetry, painting, political science, evangelical reform, and military science respectively. Until comparatively recent times, war was the only channel to glory and fame among the Bantu, the only way whereby a Bantu chieftain might hope, by striking terror into neighbouring tribes, to be known beyond his tribe and to posterity. Africa has now been appropriated by and partitioned among the various European powers, and coincidently with this, inter-tribal wars have passed away, and chieftains exist in name only. Education has taken the place of royalty of descent. Politics seem now to be the way to the limelight, for all the well-known

Bantu in the Union of South Africa whose names occur to us, are, without exception, men of education, and generals on the one side of the South African political warfare.

The results of only a hundred years' partial training, that part being exclusively by missionary effort, cannot be expected to be either very great or very general. So far, therefore, the arts and sciences are a *terra incognita*, and what the Bantu talent can do in the way of helping on their fellow-countrymen is limited to the inculcation of a few simple truths.

What little skill the Bantu had, by independent effort, acquired in arts or sciences must now be entirely lost. It is questionable whether they can now smelt iron, and make spears and assegais, the highest knowledge to which they had attained in their natural condition. That skill which the Bechuana section of the Bantu displayed in carving and decorating wood to all shapes and forms by means of the rudest implements is gone, and now provided with easily manipulated knives and chisels they could not reproduce their original workmanship.

The very poetical compositions which were turned out by the hundred, in every clan, are now a difficult feat in spite of the increased range of Bantu ideas and vocabulary. So is it all through the limited range of Bantu creations, trades and industries. The tendency is to forget self, to lose identity and to remember and imitate—often without understanding—the European; therefore the remembrance and the imitation are poorly done.

It seems it should be the business of the more advanced Bantu to study, uphold, and propagate their national customs and institutions, only modifying or abolishing such as are pernicious, and seem calculated to clash with the best in civilisation, and to arrest progress; smoothing those that are jagged, recasting and refining such as are rough and uncouth. It should be their concern to learn first to look upon life through their own national spectacles and then, but not till then, through foreign spectacles, to inculcate into their less advanced brethren the respect and esteem of Bantu usages while emphasising only the laudable practices in the new civilisation. Then, perhaps, there will be fewer in that hopeless sect, who, wandering far from home and coming under changed environment, purposely forget their nationality, its ethics and its usages, without the possibility of their becoming of another nationality, nor of thoroughly appreciating foreign ethics and

usages; who with no more than a nodding acquaintance with foreign—to wit, European—languages, pretend not to know their mother tongue, who, imagining themselves educated, scorn and despise their national traditions, imbibe a dangerous scepticism and materialism easily found in commercial and industrial centres, absorb all the shortcomings of civilisation and miss all the good in it, and are, at the end, infinitely worse than they were in their raw, uncivilised state—a floating mass of humanity, without identity, without creed, and without character.

It is the lowest of this low grade that some people utilise to industrially prove that civilisation or education ruins the Bantu, and indeed if their contact with the meaner side of civilisation is deserving of the name of civilisation or education, or can be expected to improve them, then it must be allowed that the discovery is unimpeachable. Nor are the cynics and critically inclined and often bitterly prejudiced colonists alone in their expression of such scepticism. The raw, untouched, unsophisticated, purely uncivilised, but none the less observant, self-respecting, often virtuous, and always healthier and happier Bantu, seeing their half-civilised and demi-semi-civilised brethren get drunk, get into trouble, get into prison, and get even to the gallows, and generally deteriorating, these raw, totally uncivilised tribal Bantu look down upon their half-civilised and detribalised fellow-countrymen, and deploring their degeneracy, also despise that strange force which has so unmanned them. They call them *Ama-Kumsha* or *Ma-Kgomocha*; that is, literally—speakers of European languages, a word which, however, in the mind of a tribal Muntu, is always associated with something of deceit, and is almost synonymous with that meaning turn-coat, cheat, or trickster.

The Balance Sheet.—It may now be asked: Have the Bantu benefited materially by their contact with European nations? Have they, as judged by their present condition, gained or lost by that contact? Has the contact been for better or for worse?

These questions are difficult to answer (from the view-point of the Bantu). It would be impossible in a few brief sentences to convey, even in a general way, the impressions, the psychology and the feelings of the average Muntu of these questions, especially as often, his conclusions are, in part, influenced by emotion and sentiment. But looking the matter squarely in the face and considering it honestly, it must be said that the advan-

tages outweigh the disadvantages only by very little. While a lot of good has undoubtedly accrued to the Bantu by their contact with Europeans in South Africa, a lot of ill has also come to them by that contact. Up to a certain point nearly every advantage had a corresponding disadvantage, every good a concomitant evil, every force in one direction an opposite and equal force. The effects thus neutralising each other, the advantages and good were, theoretically at least, *nil*. The slaughters of internecine wars were put a stop to, but have been replaced by the frightful mortality of new exterminating diseases. Slavery was abolished, but the freedman and his son have been dispossessed of their lands—their dearest possessions—and forced into economic servitude. Many have been released from the evils of tribal life, only to fall into the (at least morally as grave) vices of civilisation. Others have hopefully acquired education, only to find that it is Pisgah's mountain, from which they can view the Promised Land with its rivers of milk and honey, without the possibility of entering it. With education they thought their chance would come, that merit in them would be recognised *practically*, and intellectual acquisitions receive their deserts; with education they find their chance must go, that merit and demerit make just about an equal impression, and mental triumphs seem to count for nothing.

This education which has been given them and which they are so assiduously acquiring cannot but be, in a way, a source of unhappiness. It has refined and is refining their senses and sensibilities, only that they may the more poignantly feel their present injuries, it has awakened hope and ambition only to cruelly disappoint them.

Or, in the words of Professor Huxley in his *Evolution and Ethics*—"That very sharpening of the sense and that subtle refinement of emotion which brought such a wealth of pleasures were fatally attended by a proportional enlargement of the capacity for suffering; and the divine faculty of imagination, while it created new heavens and new earths, provided them with the corresponding hells of futile regret for the past and morbid anxiety for the future."

But however much education may sensitise the Bantu, or at least, by removing the protecting cloak of philosophic ignorance, expose them, none of them can merely on that account denounce it, or for a moment desire to go back into

barbarism. In fact, at bottom they are thankful to the white man. They are in particular deeply grateful to the missionary who has educated them with very little cost to themselves, has taught them some truths about this life and the next, and instructed them in some simple civilised crafts.

To the vague thing called government—the local government—the Bantu have hardly anything in the present—whatever they might have had in the past—to be thankful for, except in so far as it is a local representative of something still more vague to define, that something is Imperialism, from which have emanated all the beneficent rays that have ever warmed the Bantu. With that Imperialism, not in its narrow and selfish sense, but in so far as it presents a high political morality, with such Imperialism they identify their supreme material good.

PART IV

POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES

CHAPTER XXVII

INTELLECTUAL POSSIBILITIES OR IMPOSSIBILITIES ¹

OF late years, much unavailing speculation has been indulged in, by the curious, as to whether the black man—the Negro—can or cannot improve. That is to say, the inquirers set themselves to answer the questions whether the present backward state of the Negro race is due to their inherent incapacity, or to want of opportunity, and whether it is possible for them, under favourable circumstances, to approximate, as a race, to the standard of Western civilisation. As a result some obnoxious theories and formulæ have been advanced, and those have been gladly welcomed by some with unquestioning credence, and rejected by others as not in keeping with the laws of history and reason. In short, the simple question whether the Negro can improve has originated two schools of thought, diametrically opposed. The one earnestly maintains that he cannot; the other as earnestly maintains that he can.

The Case for Improvement.—These latter point to the insurmountable barriers which have been in the Negro's way from time unknown, and how these have made progress for him impossible. They show how the physical conformation of Africa—his home and his habitat—was such as to isolate him from the progressing world without, and from his neighbour in the continent. They point out how, when he did come into contact with foreign nations—the only way by which he might have achieved progress—he was enslaved and made infinitely worse than he was before. How he has since remained degraded as any nation would have been. Finally, they draw

¹ A Presidential Address to the *African Races Association of Glasgow and Edinburgh* delivered in Glasgow, December 1917.

attention to the social and intellectual progress—little indeed, but none the less tangible—which the Negro has made since his emancipation from slavery, in the teeth of greatest difficulties, and how, now and then, a genius has arisen from the Negro race. They point out all this, admit the Negro race a backward race, but backward purely on account of unfavourable conditions and unhappy environments. The presumption then is, according to these views, that if from the beginning of things the blacks had lived under the same or similar physical and economic conditions as the whites, they would have been in every way equal to them, or, in other words, all things being equal, nationalities would react similarly to the same environmental stimuli. This raises a hotly disputed question whether heredity or environment has more to do with the characteristics of various nationalities, for if it is environment, then it is logical to conclude that with the advance and spread of civilisation, and, therefore, gradual approximation towards uniformity of ideas and practices, there will be, *pari passu*, a submergence of those conflicting characteristics which distinguish various nationalities, until, ultimately—howsoever long that may be—there will be absolute uniformity.

On the other hand, if the superiority of one nation over another is due to heredity, then, unless that nation freely mixes its blood with the inferior, there must always be a wide gulf between the two. The superior must for ever remain superior, and the inferior must always remain inferior.

Now, in a general way, it may be said that those who assert that the Negro race is incapable of progress and doomed to everlasting material, mental, and moral inferiority are upholders—perhaps unconsciously—of this hereditary force, while those who believe in their improvability support the force of environment.

It is perhaps in unconscious support of this hereditary force, that several writers state that the Bantu, while educationally and socially far below the American Negroes, are in capacity and moral stamina not only equal but superior to them. This, of course, is explained on the assumption that the Bantu who, it is said, have a considerable amount of Asiatic blood in their veins, have had conferred upon them, by that Eastern element, new virtues and potentialities, which are a prerogative of the Caucasian,¹ thus improving their moral and intellectual faculties.

¹ Need we remind the reader that the races of the "Near East," e.g. Indians, belong to the same stock as the races of Europe.

In this way it is sought to prove that the only way the blacks can improve is by intermarriage with one or other of the more civilised Caucasian races, and that without this mixture of blood, no amount of training, even under the most favourable conditions, can serve to bring the black man to any appreciable standard of intellectuality or morality.

If, indeed, there is such a thing as hereditary superiority or hereditary inferiority between nations or individuals, then it seems biology must revise her teachings. For if she is right, then those accepted beliefs of hereditary differences in intellect are wrong. In 1873 Herbert Spencer wrote :—

“ If anyone denies that children bear likeness to their progenitors in character and capacity, and if he holds that men whose parents and grandparents were habituated criminals have tendencies as good as those of men whose parents and grandparents were industrious and upright, he may consistently hold that it matters not from what families in a society the successive generations descend. He may think it just as well if the most active and capable and prudent and conscientious people die without issue, while many children are left by the reckless and dishonest. But whoever does not espouse so insane a proposition must admit that social arrangements which retard the multiplication of the mentally-best, and facilitate the multiplication of the mentally-worst, must be extremely injurious.”¹

Spencer, in this, of course, expresses his belief in the transmission of moral character and mental capacity from parents to their offspring. But at the time he was writing the sciences of heredity and evolution were still in their infancy. It is true Jean Baptiste Lamarck, a pioneer biologist, had lived and died nearly fifty years before, and he in his time had written “ that all that has been acquired or altered in the organisation of individuals during their lifetime is conserved by generation, and transmitted to the new individuals born of those that have undergone such changes.” This view of Lamarck we have seen propagated by Spencer, but in later years it has not only been impugned but definitely disproved.

Biology at present divides characters into two large classes, namely Inborn or Innate and the Acquired or Environmental. The Inborn characters alone can be transmitted from parent to offspring, being carried in the germ-plasm. They are there-

¹ *The Study of Sociology*, p. 343.

fore termed gametic and are heritable. But the Acquired characters—they are due to the play of habits, accidents, and environment on the individual. They cannot be transmitted by parents to offspring, for when they are acquired, the germ-plasm which is to pass on to the offspring has already been formed. In fact, this bearer of hereditary qualities—the germ-plasm—is, we are told, potentially immortal—being continuous right on from Adam to the reader or, more truly, from the lowest organism to the highest man. Well, then, these acquired characters or use-characters are uninheritable, and so education, mental and moral capacities, being acquired characters or the results of personal exertions, cannot be transmitted by parents to their progeny, or by one generation to another. A generation, according to this view, may reach the height of moral and intellectual excellence by self-exertion, but it cannot transmit any of this to the next—to its sons. Similarly a barbarian does not, cannot transmit his barbarism to his son. The son's barbarism is entirely a matter of the atmosphere in which he is immersed, the environment in which he grows up.

More than half a century ago Buckle wrote: "In the present state of our knowledge we cannot safely assume that there has been any permanent improvement in the moral or intellectual faculties of man, nor have we any decisive ground for saying that those faculties are likely to be greater in an infant born in the most civilised part in Europe than in one born in the wildest region of a barbarous country.

"Whatever, therefore, the moral and intellectual progress of men may be, it resolves itself not into a progress of natural capacity, but into a progress, if I may say so, of opportunity; that is, an improvement in the circumstances under which that capacity after birth comes into play. Here, then, lies the gist of the whole matter. The progress is one, not of internal power but of external advantage. The child born in a civilised land is not likely, as such, to be superior to one born among barbarians; and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be caused, so far as we know, solely by the pressure of external circumstances; by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, associations—in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured."¹

Of late years much stress has been laid on the anthropological

¹ *History of Civilisation in England*, vol. i, pp. 135, 136.

findings that the various races of mankind show certain morphological or structural characters more or less peculiar to the family of which they are members. Of these features, those manifested by the skull have undoubtedly received the greatest attention, and craniology has almost become an independent branch in the science of comparative anatomy. There is, however, not yet a clear interpretation of the facts arrived at. The size of the head, or, rather, skull, varies greatly between various races of mankind, and as this is correlated with the size of the brain, it follows, therefore, that that important organ varies in size in different races. It is said that the cubical capacity of the head is greater in the advanced races than in the backward races—that, in other words, the brain of the more civilised is larger than that of the less civilised and uncivilised. Around this interesting discovery has waged a great battle. Some have taken this as an indication of greater intellectual faculties of the larger-headed as compared with the intellectual faculties of the smaller-headed races. Others demur entirely from this view, and point out that the size of the skull is in no way an index to the greater development of the brain within.

According to their capacity, skulls have been grouped into three large classes.

1. Microcephalic skulls are those skulls whose capacity is below 1350 c.c. The races exhibiting such skulls are among the lowest in the scale of humanity, and include such types as the Australian aborigines, the Bushmen of South Africa, the Tasmanians, the Veddahs, the Fuegians, etc.

2. Mesocephalic skulls are those skulls whose capacity ranges from 1350 c.c. to 1450 c.c. Among such skulls are those of the American Indians, some African Negroes, the Chinese, the Hottentots, etc.

3. Megacephalic skulls are the largest skulls—including all those whose capacity is above 1450 c.c. Most races among whom such skulls are found are civilised, but others are not. In a general way, however, and apart from individual peculiarities, and other cases which are rather the exception than the rule, the assumption seems justifiable that the more advanced or civilised a race, the greater is the capacity of the crania of its members. Among the megacephalic skulls are those of the Japanese, the Europeans, the Bantu, and some Negroes

Besides the cubage of the skull, there are other common

ways in which skulls are classified. It would seem that from the results, some have assumed a closer or a more distant kinship with the animals—the anthropoid apes and other animals from which mankind has descended.

It would be tedious to describe these methods of classification. It must suffice if we only mention them.

Facial Index, by which is meant the angle formed by a line drawn from the brow to the gum margin of the upper incisor teeth, and the other from the middle of the external acoustic meatus, or opening of the ear, to the lower margin of the septum of the nose. This angle ranges between 62° and 82° , being nearer the latter figure in vertical profiles of Europeans, and nearer the smaller number in more inclined profiles as occur among some Negroes.

Finally, and associated with the *Facial Index*, there is what is termed the Gnathic Index, which records the degree of projection of the maxilla or cheek bone and upper jaw. This projection is marked in some Negroes, Tasmanians, Australians, etc.—*i.e.* these races are *Prognathous*. It is less marked in Chinese, Japanese, Bantu—*Mesognathous*; and still less is the projection marked in Europeans and Bushmen—*Orthognathous*.

The reader is now in a position to understand the words of Professor Huxley, who wrote: "It may be quite true that some Negroes are better than some white men, but no rational man cognisant of the facts believes that the average Negro is the equal, still less the superior, of the average white man. And if this be true, it is simply incredible that when all his disabilities are removed and our prognathous relative has a fair field and no favour, as well as no oppressor, he will be able to compete successfully with his bigger brained and smaller-jawed rival in a contest which is to be carried on by thoughts, not chews."

One more oft-reiterated statement needs examining.

One often hears, in South Africa, that the Negro and Bantu children make as good progress in any given subject as the European children; some writers even assure us that the Bantu children make quicker progress than their European neighbours. This, of course, may be true in some cases, but when it is remembered that the black children have to learn everything in a foreign tongue while the white children do so in their mother tongue, it must appear extremely doubtful that the black children, as a rule, outstrip the white. But the point at

issue is this. It is confidently asserted that at a certain age, shortly after puberty, the black child reaches its limit of intellectual acquirements. He can no longer take anything into his head, and the white child now almost invariably outdistances the black. To all intents and purposes the education of the latter is ended just at the age when education starts in earnest and takes a practical turn. A thing so striking could never fail to be a subject of controversy as to its cause, and again here we find science rudely jammed in by some to explain this phenomenon. They assure us that the sutures of the cranium, *i.e.* seams of the skull, of a Negro child close abnormally early, and thus hinder the development and expansion of the brain. Others, however, point to the curriculum of the schools. There is nothing in it to stimulate the enthusiasm of a black child. He is taught what he does not and will, except in isolated cases, never require—things like English History and Latin. The education does not prepare him as well as it might for the struggle of life. Then, above all, the education does not fall in with the natural bent of the black child. No heed is taken of the things he has an aptitude for, and labour is wasted in trying to awaken his interest for what he neither understands nor likes. In short, the stimuli applied are inappropriate and therefore the response is little.

Having got through this pseudo-scientific muddle, the question, "What are the prospects of the Bantu?" remains unanswered. If anything, it has become more difficult than ever to answer. For if heredity, evolution, and anthropology would prove that the future holds out no hope for the Bantu, for all the Negroes, if these sciences could positively deny the possibility of an intellectual and moral future for the blacks, then the latter might well exclaim with Campbell—

O Star-eyed Science ! hast thou wandered there
To waft us home the message of despair ?

But has science proved any intellectual or moral inefficiency of the black races? No—no more than it has proved their intellectual and moral efficiency. Neither capacity nor incapacity have been shown conclusively to be characteristic of the backward races, or, more plainly, of the African race.

The learned dogmas often advanced as proof of one thing or the other often savour of scientific veneration rather than science. The conclusions are arrived at by speculative and controversial

methods rather than by practical and experimental research. At present it may be said the myth of heredity has exploded. It is reasonable to expect other myths will follow suit.

But to come back to the practical question of the prospects of the Bantu. It will be seen that we are treating under this chapter the intellectual and moral future of the whole Negro race. It is advisable to do so, since in the ordinary way the consideration of the larger group (Negroes) is at the same time an inquiry into the small group (Bantu).

We shall now inquire into the history of the black man to see what he has achieved in the past, for it is by a sufficient acquaintance with the past, and also with the present, that the future can be, in a measure, foreshadowed. In other words, it is by the knowledge of history that the behaviour of nations under different circumstances can be foreseen.

What, then, has the black man achieved in the past? What is his contribution to the worlds of science, of art, and literature? What has he done towards the advancement of civilisation and the betterment of mankind in the past? (We use the word "past" in the sense of historical perspective.) The answer to these questions can be given in one simple word—"Nothing."

"The black man has given nothing to the world. He has never made a nation—he belongs to nothing but a subject race. He has no architecture of his own, no art, no history, no real religion, unless animism be a religion. His hands have reared no enduring monuments, save when they have been forcibly directed by the energies of other races.

"The black man—the Negro—is indeed the world's common slave; he has been a slave in Asia far more than he has ever been a slave in America, for his slavery in plantations lasted about a few short decades, whereas in Asia it has certainly endured for three thousand years, if not twice or thrice as long, and even now openly lasts in such countries as Turkey, where the Ethiopian, after having been emasculated, plays the part of harem watch-dog.

"Fate thus seems to have marked the African down. No matter how much one may animadvert against the Asiatic, no matter how much one may dislike him, it is a fact that, though he may never have been scientific, he has contributed immensely to the civilisation of the world, has founded every great religion that exists, has built enduring monuments and

temples ; and possesses withal in many ways a more reasonable, a more subtle, and a more speculative brain than the European. In poetry, in art, the debt Europe owes Asia is immense—far greater than is commonly supposed ; for no one knows, nor will ever know, how much the Greeks really borrowed from Indo-Persian civilisation, and how little they themselves originated. Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, Hindoo, Persian, and many others have contributed their ordered quota of this sum total ; all have had, and will continue to have, a profound influence in the world's progress. Not so the black man. He is a child of nature—the one untutored man who was a helot in the days of Solomon as he is still a virtual slave, though his manumission throughout the world is one of the greatest landmarks in the history of the nineteenth century. Save in rare cases it seems he cannot rise in the scale beyond a certain point. The originating powers of the European or of the Asiatic are not in him ; and though he can imitate well enough, as is strangely enough the case also with the Japanese, it is the woman and not the man who has the greater industry, the greater fidelity, and the greater capacity for the gentler virtues.

“ It is not strange, then, that the Negro should always have been held to be a perfect example of arrested development. He has never yet made a nation—he has never dreamed of anything greater than a tribe. Though he has for three thousand years been in contact with other peoples, he has never learnt much—in any case he forgets more quickly than he learns—and consequently has remained where he still is, despised, rejected, and ill-treated whenever possible. Such in a few words is his tragic and featureless history.” Such are the words of Mr. P. Weale (in pages 232 to 234, *The Conflict of Colour*) on the past history of the black man. Such as they are, and, though showing only one side of the picture, they are unassailable for they are held together by a steel-strong thread of truth.

To state, however, that the black man has been a slave in Asia “ for three thousand years if not twice as long,” and then again that “ though he has for three thousand years been in *contact* with other peoples, he has never learnt much,” seems a bit illogical, for to be in contact with other people in the capacity of a slave, so far from being conducive to much being learnt, actually makes much to be unlearnt—much, that is, that goes to the building of virtuous motives, self-dependence, and dignity.

Altogether, however, Mr. Weale's summing up, so far as it

shows that the Negro has achieved nothing, is true. Whether he can or cannot rise above a certain level, it is premature to say. What his originating powers may be, and what his imitative, how much he remembers or forgets of what he learns—in all these, time alone can decide. Perhaps, indeed, the African has not the originating powers of the European or the Asiatic, but perhaps he has. It may be he cannot rise in the scale beyond a certain point, and it may be he can. Perhaps he remembers little, perhaps more, of what he learns. Time, and time alone, can decide. But time! Has the African not lived as long as other men? As long as the European and the Asiatic?

Slavery has done more than any other force to make Africa an outcast—a land, to all intents and purposes, of the dead. And the life of its sons must be reckoned from the disappearance of that force—from the Abolition of Slavery, the Emancipation of the Negroes—from yesterday, in the historical sense. And that, even that, is making very great allowances. The balance has been lost, and must take time to be recovered. The degradation and oppression of centuries—these have left effects which cannot be eradicated by a few years of freedom—yet not freedom either, for the economic emancipation of the Negro and Bantu is yet to be. But these may be left out—they are an allowance—and the identity of the blacks counted from their emancipation, according to the popular acceptance of that word. What then has the black man achieved since he came out of slavery? The answer is “Somewhat.”

“At the close of the Civil War in 1865 the Negro had all his way to make. It is true a few were skilled artisans, a few who had been freed had acquired a little property, but the vast mass had nothing—neither lands, house, nor implements.

“No people on earth ever had a harder task set before them. The children of Israel despoiled the Egyptians before they set out for the promised land, the white man of the South took care the Negro did not despoil him. Illiterate, without any self-reliance or self-control, accustomed to obey and not to think, weak and timid and without material resources, they had to find a place in a civilisation built up by a stronger race; they had to fight a fight unarmed, and not understanding the terms of the conflict.

“It is claimed by their advocates that no such progress as they have made has ever been achieved before by any people

in the like short period of time. When we remember their hopeless position, and the fact that, though they had many influential friends and well-wishers, both North and South, the mass of those they lived among were coldly critical or openly hostile, one feels inclined to agree with this finding, notwithstanding their comparative failure along many lines of civilised endeavour.

“For to-day there is not a calling in which the Negro is not represented by more or fewer members of his race, and in some he has been very successful, but not uniformly so. In certain spheres he has fallen back in comparison to his numbers and the increased extent of his opportunities as compared with his early years of freedom.”

Those are the words of Sir Maurice Evans in his *Black and White in Southern States*, pp. 98-98.

Sir Harry Johnston in his paper, *The World Position of the Negro and Negroid*, says:—

“The Negro is the only non-Caucasian race which has, so far, furnished rivals to the white man in science, the arts, literature, and mathematics. So far, excepting a few Dravidians, Amerindians, and Japanese, all these half-brothers of the white man, the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and aboriginal America, have kept themselves to themselves and have never ventured to compete with the white man in his own sphere. But a Negro has now been to the North Pole, and there are famous Negro or Negroid painters, musicians, novelists, botanists, legists, philologists, philosophers, mathematicians, engineers, and general officers, whose work is done in the white world and in emulation with the first talent of Europe and America.”¹

Many writers insist on the distinction between the Negroes and the Bantu, who are really Negroids. It is pointed out by them that that formula in which the Negroes' physique is often summed up is not applicable to the Bantu, whose features, it is said, have been “improved” by the Eastern element in their composition. It is further stated by others that the Bantu differ essentially from the Negroes, in that they (the Bantu) are endowed with greater intellectual powers, and are, of themselves, capable of progress. It is implied, or confidently asserted, that this hypothetical superiority is due to strains of Caucasian blood which has filtered down from Europe to Asia, and from Asia to South Africa (also North Africa) by

¹ Spiller's *Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 335, 336.

miscegenation. Thus Lord Bryce, in his *Impressions of South Africa*, p. 458, says :

“ In point of natural capacity and force of character the Bantu races are at least equal, probably superior, to the Negroes brought from Africa to North America, most of whom seem to have come from the Guinea Coast. But in point of education and in habits of industry, the American Negroes are far ahead of the Bantu of South Africa.”

And Professor Keane in his geographical work, *Africa*, vol. ii. p. 12, says :—

“ For the true negro is of himself incapable of upward development, and, without miscegenation, cannot even be raised to the somewhat higher stage of culture represented by the Mohammedan Arabs of North Africa. All the intelligent and dominating peoples of Sudan—Fulahs, Hausas, Dasas, Nubians, etc.—are mixed races, where the Negro element is in inverse ratio to the material and moral progress of the people. Where that element exclusively or mainly prevails, as amongst the Ashanti and others of Upper Guinea, there is practically no progress ; on the other hand, the higher Bantu groups—that is, those in which the Negro element is least pronounced—are of themselves capable of advancement, and without miscegenation can, under judicious European control, be elevated to a relatively high degree of social culture. Here again the non-Negro element is in direct ratio to the advancement of the people, as witness the present condition of Basutoland, under healthy European influences, and the North Bechuanaland under that remarkable personality of Khama, ruler of the powerful Ba-Mangwato nation.”

And on p. 14 : “ The Bantus may therefore be regarded as a Negroid—that is a modified Negro—race, in which the Hamites of North Africa constitute the modifying element.”

And again on p. 241 : “ The Basuto, more perhaps than any other ethnical group, serve to emphasise the distinction that has been insisted upon in this work between the stationary Negro and the progressive Bantu race.”

And once again on p. 248 : “ Mentally the Kafirs are greatly superior to the Negroes, displaying considerable tact and intelligence in all their political and social relations. They are remarkably brave, loyal to their chiefs, warlike, and hospitable, but certainly deceitful and treacherous—duplicity, cunning, and falsehood being, in fact, regarded as accomplishments, and

instilled into their minds from early youth as a part of their military education.”

Such are the current unexplained dogmatisms on the improvable or otherwise of the Negro race; such the curious hypotheses about the mental and moral superiority of the Negroids—in this case the Bantu—over the Negroes; but the true facts are yet unknown. Philosophic history has not shed any certain ray on the question. It has proved neither capacity nor incapacity of the Negro or Negroid. It has not vividly shown the rate of advance of the now leading races of man. It has not explained to us, for instance, “through how many centuries those rugged Teutons remained in a state of stagnation prior to their stepping into the circle of light.” Such data collected and such facts known, the progress of nations could be measured with a greater degree of certainty than by reports based entirely on local impressions and subjective feelings, and coloured by emotional attitude, personal bias, and hasty conclusion.

Sanguine optimism is irrational if untempered by the recognition of the fact that the progress of a people is a slow social process, and, in the case of the Bantu, or for that matter all Negroes and Negroids, they must pass through the mill and serve their time as the advanced races have done. To expect that what has been brought about by centuries of steady application in one race—the European—can be effected by a few years’ training in another race—the African—is, to say the least of it, rash. But a purely sceptical attitude is still worse, for, besides its unnerving effects, it is ungenerous and unwarrantable. With truth does Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois say in his book, *The Souls of the Black Folk*, p. 262: “The silently growing assumption of the age is that the probation of races is past, and that the backward races of to-day are of proven inefficiency and are not worth saving. Such an assumption is the arrogance of peoples irreverent towards time, and ignorant of the deeds of men.

“A thousand years ago such an assumption, easily possible, would have made it difficult for the Teuton to prove his right to life. Two hundred years ago such a dogmatism, readily welcome, would have scouted the idea of blonde races ever leading civilisation. So woefully unorganised is sociological knowledge that the meaning of progress and the meaning of ‘swift’ and ‘slow’ in human doings, and the limits of human

perfectibility are veiled, unanswerable sphinxes on the shore of science."

When we see a baby, we presume from our knowledge about other babies that, after so many months, it will be able to walk, and after so many more months, it will have learnt to speak. This presupposition from previous experience is the means of human progress. This recognition of, and respect for, law and order is a step to yet higher flights of knowledge. In ordinary things of nature, so ingrained is this belief in uniformity, that even if we might seem entitled to make an exception in one instance, we are yet very reluctant to do so; even if from malformation or disease a baby fails to conform to the general law of learning to walk and learning to speak, still our faith in its ultimate acquisition of these powers is but little shaken.

Similarly, it is a law of all scientific investigations to presume a uniformity and orderly sequence in the phenomena that are being observed, whether these be physical, chemical, or biological. It is a basic, a fundamental principle, an axiom and a law of philosophical history—in its inquiry into the social, moral, or intellectual evolution of man—to presuppose human progress and human perfectibility, throughout humanity, even though the visible progress may be haphazard, irregular, desultory, and zigzag; even though it may be full of failings and falterings. The underlying principle is—what one man can do, another can generally do also; what one nation can achieve, another nation can also achieve.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

IN the past, all Bantu peoples were pagans. In the present, some of them—a minority—are Christians. What will be their religion in the future ?

Africa is at present divided between three spiritual forces, namely, Paganism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. So the question comes to be—Will the future religion of the Bantu be Christianity or Mohammedanism, or will they revert to Paganism ? This last seems most unlikely, assuming that things remain as they are at present, and the Bantu continue in touch with more advanced nations professing more evolved religions. So long as this is the case, it seems Paganism must progressively lose ground. It is however quite conceivable, and in fact probable, that if all the Europeans were to leave South Africa (if such a thing may be imagined) and the Bantu left entirely to themselves, the rudiments of the Christian faith which a small section of them has grasped, would gradually change and become degraded, until, it may be, that religion, as now understood, would be so modified by ignorance and coloured by superstition, as to be quite unrecognisable as Christianity. It is, at least, certain that the Christian doctrines, as now accepted, could not be preserved in their purity. This need not imply that an independent Bantu Church, entirely under Bantu control, would under the existing conditions degenerate, or in any way fall off from the accepted orthodox Christianity.

The much larger section of the people who do not profess Christianity would, in all probability, become Islamised, for the African seems to adopt Islamism as readily as—nay, many writers state, more readily than—he does Christianity.

The supposition has been, however, quite gratuitous. The

white people in South Africa are, to all appearance, permanently settled and are entrenching themselves every day, and nothing short of a miracle can reverse or alter the existing state of affairs. Accordingly, therefore, the question of reversion of the Bantu to Paganism may be dismissed as most unlikely; thus leaving the two religions—Christianity and Mohammedanism—the one or the other of which the Bantu must in future embrace *en masse*.

“In less than a hundred years,” says Mr. Weale, in *The Conflict of Colour*, p. 236, “it may be assumed that should Europe’s overlordship remain much as it now is, the black man will be superficially civilised and either Christianised or Islamised.”

Of Christianity and the Bantu, enough for the limits of this work has been said in the opening chapters of Part III. We may now briefly consider the question of Islam. There are at present, speaking practically, no African, *i.e.* Negro or Bantu, Mohammedans south of the Zambesi. Beyond that river, however, and especially in North Africa, Mohammedanism is *the* religion, being professed by some fifty millions of Africans—about a quarter of the population of the continent and about a quarter of the total Mohammedan population of the world.

Islam or Mohammedanism has been said to be the only religion that seriously disputes supremacy in the world with Christianity. A brief consideration of such a religion—with such a claim to universality and (chiefly because) with such an important asset in Africa—is, therefore, not foreign to our general inquiry.

Originating from some sporadic germs in Arabia and from germs of Judaism and Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries, the religion quickly acquired shape and form under Mahomet or Mohammed, who styled it “Islam.” This religion claims, like other religions, to be divinely revealed. The Islam bible (if the word is permissible) is the Koran or Quran. Mohammedanism claims for the Koran, as other religions claim for their bibles, that it is inspired.

“Nay, I swear it by the setting of the stars—
And that, if ye will but know it, is a mighty oath,
That this is the exalted Koran,
Written in the book that is hidden (with Allah):
Let none touch it but be purified,
It is a revelation of the Lord of the Worlds.”

(*Koran*, sura lvi. 74-79.)

Then in *sura* (or chapter) lxxvi. 33, no less an authority than Allah himself says: "We have made the Koran come down to you as a revelation from on high."

The authenticity of the Koran is believed to be above suspicion and the biography of Mohammed to rest on verifiable testimony, even by those who are not Moslems (or believers in Islam). Mohammedanism is very closely related to Christianity and Judaism, and with them forms a cognate trio. The three have very much in common in their origin and tenets, than any or all of them have with, say, Buddhism, Confucianism or Hinduism. Mohammedanism is therefore eminently monotheistic, the chief and central article of its creed being "*la ilaha illa-llaha*," translated—"There is no god but Allah," to which is added—"and Mahomet is His prophet." Like Christianity and Judaism, also, Islam claims Abraham for its patriarch, Mohammed himself falling into line with the prophets of Christianity and Judaism, but as the last prophet—"the seal of the Prophets"—sent to restore the true religion of Abraham the father of Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs.

In its spirituality and worshipfulness Mohammedanism yields place to no religion—"Believers! bow down and prostrate yourselves and worship your Lord, and work righteousness that ye may fare well, and do valiantly in the cause of Allah as it behoveth you to do for him," *sura* xxii.

"Oh Lord! make us Moslems resigned to Thee, and our posterity a Moslem people, and teach us our holy rites," *sura* ii. 14.

In unity of spirit and uniformity of dogma, the religion of Islam stands very high, thus resembling the Roman Catholic religion as against the Protestant religion.

Mohammedanism forbids immorality, drunkenness, ill-treatment of women, killing, gambling, and usury. It enjoins chastity, charity, and strict observance of worship and rituals which include recital of the creed and the prayers, fasting and abstention from all enjoyment at defined periods.

Mohammedan law allows, but does not recommend, polygamy to the extent of four wives—"one wife for each of the four humours in a male constitution"—and, it is claimed further—to strike a happy balance between the undue liberality of Mosaic law and the undue limitation of Christian law.

Veiling and seclusion of women are practised in many Mohammedan communities. It is said that their law makes divorce

exceptionally easy by the male, and exceptionally difficult by the female.

Slavery is permitted by the law, and a man may have free sexual relations with his female slaves, but "this should not be called a mediæval institution, the most civilised nations not having given it up before the middle of the nineteenth century. The law of Islam regulated the position of slaves with much equity, and there is a great body of testimony from people who have spent a part of their lives among Mohammedan nations which does justice to the benevolent treatment which bondmen generally receive from their masters there. Besides that, we are bound to state that in many Western countries or countries under Western domination, whole groups of the population live under circumstances with which those of Mohammedan slavery may be compared to advantage."¹

Such, shortly is Islam. Such is the religion professed by some fifty million Africans. Before its birth in Arabia, the Arabs were hopelessly divided. Islam welded them together. The people whom the Arabs conquered were speedily Islamised, and thus comes it that Northern Africa is Mohammedan. But perhaps the most remarkable power of Islam is its welding force, and the cohesion and sympathy that exists between Mohammedan countries even to-day is to be found in very few religions at most.

In South Africa, the followers of Islam are almost exclusively people of Malayan and generally Eastern stock, descendants of the Malay slave population of the early Dutch days at the Cape.

The non-Mohammedanism of the Bantu people is promulgated in the non-specific word "Kafir," used sometimes to designate all, and sometimes only a section of them. The word Kafir, as is well known, is Arabic and means infidel, or unbeliever, and is apparently applicable by the Arabs to all who are outside the pale of their religion—Mohammedanism—and was so applied by them to the people of South Africa.

Many writers, however, think that Mohammedanism is the religion best suited for the Africans. They contrast it with Christianity, and state that this cannot possibly strike deep root in Africa, that even where it does flourish it is a weakening and disintegrating force, while Mohammedanism, they state, almost invariably elevates and strengthens the Africans. Thus

¹ C. S. Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, pp. 150, 151.

contrasting Christianity and Mohammedanism, Mr. Bosworth Smith says: "As to the effects of Islam when first embraced by a Negro tribe there can be no reasonable doubt. Polytheism disappears almost instantaneously; sorcery gradually dies away, and human sacrifices become a thing of the past. A general moral elevation is very marked. The natives begin for the first time in their history to dress, and that neatly. Squalid filth is replaced by scrupulous cleanliness; hospitality becomes a religious duty; drunkenness, instead of being the rule, becomes a comparatively rare exception. Polygamy, though allowed by the Koran, is not a common practice. Chastity is looked upon as one of the highest virtues." "It is melancholy to contrast with these widespread and beneficial influences of Mohammedanism the little that has been done for Africa by the Christian nations that have settled in it, and the still narrower limits within which it has been confined. Till a few years ago the good effects produced beyond the immediate territories occupied by them were absolutely nothing."¹

Mr. Weale, in chapter ix. of the *Conflict of Colour*, makes these remarks: "Christianity, no matter what ardent evangelists may say to the contrary, can only really live and thrive in temperate climes. Among the warlike or the metaphysical-minded peoples of Asia and Africa very different creeds will always hold sway. . . . A more combative and militant religion is better suited for the Bantu." He compares these with the "cross-breeds of Soudan who must always embrace Islam in preference to Christianity and who like the Bantu are courageous and have a superb physique." Later on (p. 257) this writer states: "If the Negro in measure as he is civilised goes towards Islamism, he must become a greater peril than ever; if he is Christianised his destructive strength is stripped from him much as was Samson's strength when his locks were cut. The part the white man is politically called upon to play in Africa is then the part of Delilah and no other."

This view, strangely enough, corresponds with that of several primitive Bantu chiefs, who found out that Christianity was turning their "youths into old women." If our memory serves us aright, it is Moffat who related how a headman of the Batlaping people was much alarmed because his good dog had eaten a leaf from the Bible. The man felt sure that the dog would

¹ As quoted by Dr. Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, p. 54.

become foolish and be no longer of use for hunting. On the other hand, Moshesh actually encouraged missionary work among his people, the Basuto, who, if not improved have certainly not deteriorated, and still form the best specimens of the South African Bantu.

Apart from the debated question of its alleged lax morality making it more acceptable to the African, Mohammedanism has certainly one strong appeal to him, and that is contained in its social influence which has been observed and is allowed by many writers. Thus Dr. G. W. Leitner says of Mohammedanism: "The rich man is considered to be the natural protector of the poor, and the poor man takes his place at the table of the rich. Nowhere in Mohammedan society is there any invidious distinction between rich and poor, and even a Mohammedan slave is not only a member of the household, but has also far greater chances of rising to position in the Government or in society than an English pauper."¹ The strong appeal of Mohammedanism to the African is in its practical spirit of equality and fraternity which is conceded. It is the carrying out in practice of the Islamic injunction—"Recognise as an equal every one who worships God and acknowledges his prophet!"

Finally the strength and vigour of Mohammedanism is in its "assimilation," racial barriers and distinctions being swept off between co-believers; miscegenation takes place freely.

Many people think Africa must remain divided between Islamism and Christianity. Others believe that, with the gradual submergence of Arab influence which must accompany the increase of European power and the spread of European influence in Africa, Mohammedanism must retreat or decay, and Christianity must become more and more diffused through the continent, as ultimately throughout the world, "by divine appointment."

In either case, whether Africa must be divided between Islamism and Christianity or be monopolised by the latter religion, it seems that the section of Africans we are considering—the Bantu—will, under the influence of the European nations with whom they are in contact, adopt *en masse* the Christian faith and that this will form their religion of the future.

¹ *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 295.

CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

THE social and economic future of the Bantu is naturally bound up with the question of their future relationship with the ruling race, and so if the future relationship of the British with the Bantu can be confidently foretold, the economic future of the latter will be solved, for this will vary directly as the nature of that relationship. There are two views.

The First View.—Deducing from past events, some think it is not illogical to conclude that, *cæteris paribus*, the relationship will become more and more amiable, though the tendency may be warped, and delayed by local causes here and there. With this increase of amity, there will be a gradual amelioration of the social and economic conditions of the Bantu, *pari passu*, for that the relationship of the European with the Negro races has undergone great changes, they argue, is self-evident. From the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, the relationship was that of slave and slave-owner. The European nations then severally entered Africa to exploit and to steal the Africans, and export them to the ends of the world. One power captured and sold them to fill its pockets with gold; another forcibly employed them to develop its lands and to bring gold from the bowels of the earth. The interest was all on one side. The one goal was riches and wealth, and these were got by any, and every means. The cry of the era was "gold," and to the getting of gold, all other considerations were subordinated. Moral checks, such as there were, were trampled under foot.

The evolving ethics of Western civilisation, however, gradually accumulated strength in rebelling against the inhumanity that such a selfish system involved. The Christian conception of

altruistic ideals, emphasised from press, platform, and pulpit by several apostles, in time permeated Western society, but soaked perhaps nowhere as thoroughly as it did into the British public, who were the means of accelerating and perfecting the desired end—the emancipation of Negro slaves. Abolition was carried through, and dictated to dilatory Powers. Man-stealing and man-selling, however remunerative, was condemned, and forced labour, however much it might yield enormous profits to Europe, was tabooed. That was the first change for the better in the inter-relation of Europe and Africa. Next must have come the question of colonies. How far was it in keeping with Christian ethics, and the altruism of Western civilisation to occupy the lands of other—as a rule weaker—nations? Britain was the chief colonising power, and the British professedly, the most altruistic nation of Europe. It is said that there was a general idea, as might logically be expected, that the British should, or would occupy their colonies in the tropics only temporarily, being there, in fact, merely as teachers, instructors, and guides to the backward races, whom they were to give their independence as soon as they could manage their own affairs. To this day such ideas are not infrequently met with.

“These colonies were,” says Mr. Kidd, in *Social Evolution*, “already seen in imagination, with all the expansive forces of Western civilisation in full swing therein, developing their own resources under native auspices as if they had been parts of the world like the United States or Australia.” It was soon found out, however, we are told, that the dwellers in the tropics could not independently develop their lands, and this, combined with the colonising fever of other European Powers, obliged Britain to keep her colonies and govern them by local representatives. This may be taken for the existing state of affairs in our time; that is, large native populations governed by small European sections. In the case of South Africa and the Bantu, who are the subject of this work, so long as this colonial administration was kept in constant touch with the highest ideals of Christian morality and the altruism of British ethics, as expressed in the mind or will of the British Government and public, so long did the administration conform to that religion and those ethics of the nation it represented. So long was it upright, just, and humane. As soon as such a colonial administration became independent of the Home Government,

so soon did it deny, tacitly, but none the less categorically, the religion, the civilisation, the ethics, and the spirit which underlie the altruism of Britain; so soon did the colonial administration misrepresent British civilisation and Christian religion; so soon did it go back to the ancient days of darkness and exploitation of the weaker people "by force and violence," and of uncompromisingly securing advantages for itself and its members to the exclusion of all other people. The self-governing Union of South Africa is to-day a modern Roman Empire, where the mass of the population is composed of slaves with no rights—"an unhappy condition of men who endure all the weight without sharing the benefits of society," for the feature of the Union Government is to exploit and exclude a huge Bantu class on the basis of colour. What a lesson South Africa should be! What a striking replica of the dark days of egoism, materialism, and self-aggrandisement! That is the worst of the second stage.

Though inter-racial feeling may, for a time, increase with the economic struggle, competition, and crowding, it is hard according to this view, to believe that, in this enlightened age, a narrow self-interest and egoistic morality can increasingly become the guiding principle of any really civilised people or government. Some Bantu therefore are hopeful of the future, because hopeful of the growth of Morality.

In his *Social Evolution*, p. 303, Mr. Kidd says: "In any forecast of the future of our civilisation, one of the most important of the questions presenting themselves for consideration is that of the future relationship of the European peoples to what are called the lower races. Probably one of the most remarkable features of the world-wide expansion the European peoples are undergoing will be the change that this relationship is destined to undergo in the near future." Then, later on (p. 234): "We shall probably have to set aside many of our old ideas on the subject. Neither in respect alone to colour, nor of descent, nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one nation as superior to another." This writer shows that *superiority of race is, beyond everything else, a matter of high moral worth, humanity, and integrity*. On these qualities, he says, the future of a nation depends. This admirably illustrates the view that the social and economic future of the Bantu, no less than the future of British civilisation, is dependent on the future relationship of

the British Empire with its African subjects, or, in other words, the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the Bantu, like the success of British civilisation, will bear a direct ratio to the integrity and humanity of British colonial policy. What Mr. Kidd states is a well-recognised fact, and that is the success of Britain as a colonial power has been attributable to her uprightness and benevolence. "Strength and energy of character, humanity, probity, and integrity, and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty," these, and not any Machiavellian schemes, have given Britain her high place and "wide influence in the world," and justly so, for, as says this great thinker, "If the white man has any right in the colonies, he is there in the name of civilisation. If our civilisation has any right there at all, it is because it represents higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order. There should therefore be," he concludes, "a recognition of the fact that we are in the midst of habits and institutions from which our civilisation is separated by a long interval of development, where progress upward must be a long, slow process, must proceed on native lines, and must be the effect of the example and prestige of higher standards rather than the result of ruder methods" (*Control of the Tropics*, p. 56).

This writer shows how this can be achieved: "The underlying principle of success in any future relationship to the tropics is to keep those who administer the government which represents our civilisation in direct and intimate contact with the standards of that civilisation at its best, and to keep the acts of the government itself within the closest range of that influence—often irksome, sometimes even misleading, but always absolutely vital—the continual scrutiny by the public mind at home."

These views are an emphatic endorsement of those expressed earlier by the eminent sociological writer, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, who says, in his book, *The Map of Life*, p. 189: "How many instances may be culled from very modern history of the deliberate falsehood of statesmen, of distinct treaty engagements and obligations simply set aside because they were inconvenient to one Power, and could be repudiated with impunity; of weak nations annexed or plundered without a semblance of real provocation. . . . *The safety of the weak in the presence of the strong is the best test of international morality.* Can it be said that, if measured by this test, the public morality of our time ranks

very high ?” Again, in his *Political Value of History*, Mr. Lecky says : “ If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether its integrity, high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, its simple habits, its courage, uprightness, and soundness and moderation of judgment, which spring as much from character as from intellect, are increasing or decaying.” (As quoted by Mr. Kidd in *Control of the Tropics*.)

We have said that *some* Bantu are hopeful of the future. They are confident of the amelioration of their condition, because they intuitively believe in British civilisation—the only idea they have of Western civilisation. With that British civilisation, they intuitively identify all their conception of honour and goodness, wedded with strength and majesty. With that they believe, without questioning, in an almost eternal supremacy of Britain; they have found there, long since, that the only chance of their safety in the present, and success in the future is in diligently, faithfully, and unswervingly following British civilisation and Britain’s lead, and in identifying themselves, *as far as it is allowed them*, with the interests of Great Britain.

Having given one view (that of Mr. Kidd) of what the future relationship of European with African people depends upon, we may, before closing this chapter, give another which has attracted much attention. Writing earlier than Mr. Kidd, Professor C. H. Pearson has these remarkable words in his *National Life and Character*, pp. 93–95 :

“ We are blind instruments of fate for multiplying the races that are now our subjects, and will one day be our rivals. . . . The day will come, and perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look round and see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions and circumscribing the industry of the European; when Chinamen and the nations of Hindostan, the States of Central and South America, by that time predominantly Indian, and it may be the African nations of the Congo and the Zambesi, under a dominant caste of foreign rulers, are represented by fleets in the European seas, invited to international conferences, and welcomed as allies in the quarrels of the civilised world. The citizens of these countries will then be taken up

into social relations of the white races, will throng the English turf, or the salons of Paris, and will be admitted to intermarriage. It is idle to say that if all this should come to pass our pride of place will not be humiliated. We were struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan races and to the Christian faith ; to the letters and arts, and charm of social manners, which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside, by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile, and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs. The solitary consolation will be that the changes have been inevitable. It has been our work to organise and create, to carry peace and law and order over the world, that others may enter it and enjoy. . . . The break up of the Roman Empire has shown that splendid political organisation may be destroyed by the concert of inferior or less highly-developed races."

It is, of course, impossible not to believe that this forecast is far too pessimistic for the race to which Mr. Pearson belongs, and, at the same time, too hopeful for the backward races. Mr. Kidd has regarded it as based on false premises, and therefore mistaken itself, "blind to the principle which British civilisation represents, and blind, therefore, to the meaning and the causes for which that civilisation has wrought and suffered for a thousand years."¹

Mr. Roosevelt also radically disagrees with Professor Pearson's forecast. In his *American Ideals and Other Essays*, the ex-President says :—

"Doubtless for many centuries European adventurers and Arab raiders will rule over large territories in the country south of the Soudan and north of the Tropic of Capricorn, and the whole structure, not only social but physical, of the Negro and the Negroid peoples, will be profoundly changed by their influence and the influence of the half-caste descendants of these European and Asiatic soldiers of fortune and industry. But it is hardly possible to conceive that the people of Africa, however ultimately changed, will be anything but Negroid in type of body and mind. It is probable that the change will be in the direction of turning them into tribes like those of Soudan, with a similar religion and morality. It is almost impossible that they will not succeed in throwing off the yoke of European outsiders,

¹ *Principles of Western Civilisation.*

though this end may be, and we hope will be, many centuries distant. . . . It is impossible for the dominant races of the temperate zones ever bodily to displace the peoples of the tropics. It is highly probable that these people will cast off the yoke of their European conquerors sooner or later, and will become independent nations once more."

As to the idea of the black and yellow races elbowing, hustling, and perhaps thrusting aside the white races, Mr. Roosevelt thinks it "open to very serious objections as failing to take into account the difference in character among nationalities." The peoples of the tropics, when freed, will "re-appear as un-European as ever. . . ."

"The danger to which Mr. Pearson alludes, that even the Negro peoples may in time become vast military powers, constituting a menace to Europe, really seems to belong to a period so remote that every condition will have changed to a degree rendering it impossible for us to make any estimate in reference thereto. . . . It is perfectly possible that European settlements in Africa will be swamped some time by the rising of natives, who outnumber them a hundred or thousand to one, but it is not possible that the Negroes will form a military menace to the people of the north, at least for a space of time longer than that which now separates us from the men of the River Drift."

The Second View.—The view expressed above is that held by only a section of the Bantu people of South Africa—perhaps a slight majority of them. There is, however, another section, smaller indeed, but rapidly accumulating supporters to its ranks. It is therefore worth while inquiring into how this growing section interprets the signs of the times. The view of this second section is a direct opposite of that expressed above. As the first view is optimistic, so this one is pessimistic. This pessimism is a direct outcome of the fear, distrust, and suspicion inspired by the legislation of recent years, and is thus not without some warrant; for, looking back upon the recent relations of whites to blacks in South Africa in the attempt to foretell their relations in the future, and thereby, the future economic conditions of the Bantu, things have, according to this view, become progressively worse on the whole. The optimistic view expressed above stakes its only hope on the altruism, the growth of morality, and the integrity of the ruling caste. Are we entitled on historical grounds to expect the realisation of any such

things? Are we warranted, in the light of recent events, to look forward to any practical expression of those academic ideas so beautifully treated in text-books of moral philosophy, etc.? Must it not, rather, be from actual happenings, than from fanciful and gratuitous suppositions, that we must seek to read the future? to discover the trend of the British rule in South Africa regarding the Bantu? No intelligent observer can fail to realise that, whatever it might have been yesterday, Western Liberalism is to-day nothing more than verbiage—mere sound and fury—signifying nothing; that morality in politics, especially international politics, is apparently purely theoretical, that self-interest and self-interest alone is, and must perhaps always be the chief and dominating principle, the governing basis and guiding law in the dealings of nations—one with another. To this principle every other consideration is made subservient in practice. The self-interest may, indeed, not be avowed. Indeed it may be cloaked by all kinds of catchwords and cant, stock phrases and specious formulæ, but that does not make it less real.

Perhaps no man of intellect in our day has the desire or the moral courage to publicly declare his espousal of, and perfect accord with the principles enunciated by Nietzsche—principles either super-idealistic or basely materialistic. The average man of intellect, indeed, would shrink away with horror from him who suggested that he was a materialist in that sense.

Let us see. How many of us purposely shut out the voice of reason, and thinking our imagined dignity questioned, choose to call every statement an insult because it does not flatter us, because it dares to undeceive us, because it would disrobe our idols of fancy, and discover to us the ugliness of their nudity. Generally also, the more incontestable the truth the harsher is the hysterical cry against it, as if that could make the truth less true. It is on this same principle that people—individuals and nationalities—who are diligent disciples of Machiavelli in practice, profess, nevertheless to be followers of Plato—Materialism in practice and Idealism in theory. Whosoever has eyes to see cannot but stand shocked at this increase of absolute divorce, nay conflict, of preaching and practice. It was no doubt such crude, such appalling contradictions in the Western world that provided the stimulus and material for Nietzsche's pen, his powerful invective and piercing satire—for such seems to be the basis of his philosophy. It was no doubt the observation of such inconsistencies that evoked Machiavelli's chilling

irony. But to come back to the points at issue—Whatever may be said in the attempt to prove the contrary, the unprovoked assault of Europe upon Africa, and the almost entire partitioning of the latter by the European nations between themselves was, at bottom, purely an act of self-interest and commercialism. Once the need of extending European frontiers was felt, moral sentiments—always willing subjects in any cause—clustered quickly and thickly round the act, not alone to condone it, but actually to applaud it. It was necessary, therefore it was right; moreover, it was argued that such a step was done in self-defence, and to forestall other Powers claiming the land, as if that could constitute a moral justification, though it certainly will a selfish one. “In hardly any period of her history has England annexed so much territory as in the last half-century, and although many of these annexations are due to the necessity which often compels a civilised power as a measure of police and self-defence to extend its frontier into the uncivilised world, much also must be attributed to commercial enterprise.

“England has not been alone in this respect. Few more curious spectacles have been exhibited in the past century than that of the chief civilised nations of Europe dividing among themselves the African continent without even a shadow of pretext or right.”¹

The more recent arguments are that the inhabitants being unable from ignorance to utilise the land properly, it should be taken and developed. Thus the developing of the land excuses the enveloping of its original inhabitants. First the land was to be developed for the inhabitants, then it was to be developed for both its natives and the settlers. Of late, the prevalence of such phrases as “White South Africa,” seems to suggest a further advance of European frontiers and land claims.

This seems to conform to that *natural* primitive law of “the survival of the fittest,” who alone must multiply and enjoy the fruits of the earth, while “the weakest must go to the wall”—a beautiful law than which there is no truer. And yet in the scramble for Africa “it was not that neither.” It was not “a struggle for existence,” but a struggle for power and supremacy.

The law of the Strong, then, rules all nature including man highly civilised. How have the great empires—ancient or modern—stood but by Might and Fitness; how have they fallen but by Feebleness and Unfitness. The “world-wide” Empire

¹ W. E. H. Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*, p. 255.

of the Great Macedon, how did it grow and sustain itself, and how did it fall? The "Holy Empire" of the Cæsars, how did it stand but by might, and so on down to our day—the Mightiest survive. The law is universal. It operates throughout life—in plants and animals (in which latter we include man). As in other animals, so in man "the best organised or the most healthy or the most active and the best protected or the most intelligent will inevitably, in the long run, gain an advantage over those which are inferior in these qualities—that is, the fittest will survive."¹

The operation of the law of the strong in man may be obscured by words—like "expediency" and "divine mission," being substituted for "aggressive nationalism," whose form of application need not necessarily be "lion," but may also be "fox." However applied, aggressive nationalism is an impulse which in the case before us—the civic relation of White South Africa to Black South Africa, expresses itself in the creation of class ascendancy of the former, their monopoly of political and other privileges, besides their pressing every one who is not white down into the mire, in the manner we have noticed. "An impulse," such as this is, "produces a host of beliefs. There is first of all a conviction of the superior excellence of our own group, a certainty that they are in some sense the chosen people. This justifies the feeling that only the good and evil of one's own group is of real importance, and that the rest of the world is to be regarded merely as a material for the triumph or salvation of the higher race. In modern politics, the attitude is embodied in Imperialism. Europe, as a whole, has this attitude toward Asia and Africa."²

In these things, we shall look, and look in vain for the much-vaunted "Western Liberalism." In vain shall we search these actions for the so-called High Political Morality. We are reduced of necessity to the conclusion that politics have been dethroned and transferred from the region of speculative ethics to that of matter-of-fact realism; from the abstract law of altruism to the practical law of the strong—the survival of the fittest, down to the law which governs other animals, which governs the plants and even the destructive germs of disease. To this naturalism, which the same people think low, the civilised world has come down. Where then is morality? This naturalism is what

¹ Wallace's *Darwinism*.

² B. Russel's *Principles of Social Reconstruction*.

Nietzsche calls true morality. "All naturalism is morality—that is to say every sound morality is ruled by a life instinct. The morality that is antagonistic to nature, that is to say, every morality that has been taught, honoured, and preached hitherto, is directed precisely against life instincts—it is a condemnation, now secret, now blatant and impudent, of these very instincts. . . . Such morality is merely a sign language, simply symptomatology."¹

If this is true; if Liberalism and Morality are hollow meaningless words and egregious tricks, then as well might a thirsty traveller expect to get water from a mirage as the Bantu hope to find emancipation by that morality and modern Liberalism. British Liberalism is offering nothing to the Bantu of South Africa except such morbid creations and fancies as "The Native Problem."

This "Western Liberalism" is indeed an astounding platitude. Its hollowness must have surprised the outside thinking world recently when after four years of hard struggle side by side, after four years of suffering—mutual physical and mental suffering, mutual exchange of sympathy and help, mutual protestations of friendship, formations and renewals of alliances, after all this and victory, the Western world went to the Peace Table at Versailles with professions of "Morality," "Liberalism," "Justice," "Making the World free for Democracy," and so forth, and there at the Peace Table the Western World made a blot which will go down into history as a fine example of Western Liberalism and Altruism and their idea of "Brotherhood of Nations." This was done by making a pointed distinction between the East and the West, and that in spite of all that Baron Makino—Japan's delegate—might say about this being a race question and one that may become acute if not well seen to.

The seething discontent so widespread seems to demand immediately careful and sympathetic study. It is difficult to believe that it is pure accident that protests and risings should occur simultaneously in parts of the world so different and widely separated as India and Egypt, Ireland and South Africa. Those who believe in justice should see if perchance the machinery is not dislocated.

We repeat that some Bantu have, from recent legislation of

¹ *Twilight of the Idols.*

the Union Parliament and from some recent speeches by public men, become distrustful and suspicious. Some of that legislation, for instance, as The South Africa (or Union) Act, which excludes them from direct representation, and the Natives' Land Act, which confines 5,000,000 Africans to about 40,000,000 acres of land, some of it uninhabitable, while giving 1,300,000 Europeans 260,000,000 acres.

One of such speeches, for example, is that made by General Smuts in London, against which, in fact, the Bantu Congress passed a resolution: "It is more important that we (whites) should do this (*i.e.* work together, respect each other, co-operate, and understand each other, and blend together), because in South Africa we are not simply in a white man's country. It has been our ideal to make it a white man's country, but it is not a white man's country yet. It is still a black man's country." Then the General went on to say: "Honesty, justice, fair play, and Christian virtues" should govern their policy.

Such an addition only makes the alarm greater, not only because it seems incompatible with the preceding part, but because in practice the addition ends only at "should" in almost every case.

The Bantu cannot reconcile loud clamours for "a White South Africa" with the theory of respect for property. Nor can they see any honesty, justice, fair play, or Christian virtue in these "Fourteen Points."

1. Non-representation (directly) in the Union Parliament.
2. Heavy taxation notwithstanding the above.
3. Shamefully disproportionate division of land between whites and blacks.
4. Meagre Government Grant to Bantu Education.
5. Growing injustices in "Courts of Justice."
6. Systematic vexatious Municipal Byelaws.
7. Expulsion of Bantu Government servants from Government offices.
8. Growing prevalence of shooting Bantu with impunity.
9. Exclusive and repressive legislation.
10. Growing white prejudice against Bantu and abuse of power.
11. Bombastic talk about "Superior Race" and "Inferior Race."
12. Growing tendency to restrict "Free Speech" and "Free Press."

13. Purposeful barricading of all doors to Bantu social and economic progress.
14. Denial of a Higher Court of Appeal than the Union Government.

Can these "Fourteen Points," whether taken singly or collectively, can these be said to hold out much hope of a peaceful future for the Bantu? In spite of all their appeals, their protests, their deputations, in spite of every form of resistance that the Bantu may make, their rulers—the Union Government—remain unmoved, inexorable, adamant and callous. When side by side with these Fourteen Points besides other barbarous measures, and many broken pledges, when side by side with these there are eternal professions of "Justice," "Christianity," and "Fair play" and much talk about "Democracy," "Protection of smaller nationalities" and all those lofty ideas, can it be wondered if some of the Bantu consider these latter professions and protestations as nothing but "superior swindle," and their professors as "sanctimonious humbugs"! For consciously or unconsciously, such crude practices beside such frothy expressions conform in a striking degree to the directions of Machiavelli. Let the reader judge for himself:—

"A prudent prince (or ruler) neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed . . . and no prince was ever at a loss for plausible reasons to cloak a breach of faith. Of this numberless recent instances could be given, and it might be shown how many treaties and engagements have been rendered inoperative and idle through the want of faith in rulers, and that he who was best known to play the fox has had the best success.

"It is necessary, indeed, to put a good colour on this nature, and to be skilful in feigning and dissembling. But men are so simple, and governed so absolutely by their present needs that he who wishes to deceive will never fail in finding willing dupes. . . . It is not essential that a prince should have good qualities, but it is essential that he should *seem* to have them. . . . Thus it is well to seem merciful, faithful, humane, religious, and upright, and also to be so, but the mind should remain so balanced that were it needful not to be so, you should be able and know how to change to the contrary. . . .

"A ruler should therefore be careful that nothing ever escapes his lips which is not replete with the five qualities above named, so that to see and hear him, one would think him the embodiment

of mercy, good faith, integrity, kindness, and religion, and there is no virtue which it is more necessary for him to seem to possess than this last, because men in general judge rather by the eye than by the hand, for all can see but few can touch. The vulgar are always taken up by appearances and by results, and the world is made up of the vulgar.”¹

That is the form which “the White Man’s Burden” takes in the Union of South Africa, and that the method in which the white man is “lifting up the black man”—a “lifting up” which shows the absolute incompetency of White South Africa to govern the Bantu, a “lifting up” which has inspired dread, distrust and suspicion that will be hard to eradicate, a “lifting up” which makes the Bantu horizon very dark and very dreary, their social, their civic, and economic outlook melancholy to contemplate.

We ask no pardon for re-quoting the warning of Benjamin Kidd, which has been criminally neglected: “The underlying principle of our success in any future relationship to the tropics is to keep those who administer the government which represents our civilisation in direct and intimate contact with the standards of that civilisation at its best, and to keep the acts of that government itself within the closest range of that influence . . . the continual scrutiny by the public mind at home.” Great Britain to-day stands condemned by those words.

Also the words of Lecky: “The safety of the weak in the presence of the strong is the best test of international morality,” and again: “If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation observe carefully whether its integrity, high standard of moral worth and of public spirit . . . uprightness and soundness of moderation of judgment which spring as much from character as from intellect, are increasing or decaying.” The rulers of South Africa are condemned by those words.

Slavery with all its sordid passions has been disinterred and revived and re-established in all but name in South Africa. Morality in South Africa has long since been throttled and buried.

“I say: as long as your morality hung over me
I breathed like one asphyxiated. That is why
I throttled this snake. I wished to live,
Consequently it had to die.”

NIETZSCHE’S *Zarathrustra*, vi.

¹ *The Prince*, chap. viii.

CHAPTER XXX

A CHARGE TO KEEP

“ Righteousness exalteth a nation.”

“ A MAN is more sure of his conduct when the verdict which he passes upon his own behaviour is warranted and confirmed by the opinion of all that know him ”: so wrote Addison. The statement is equally true of a nation as of an individual. For while perhaps every nation may arrogate to itself certain distinctions, it is not every nation that is credited with those distinctions it arrogates to itself.

The reader who has followed us thus far cannot but have been struck with the great difference between the relations of the Boer to the Bantu, on the one hand, and those of the British to the Bantu on the other. This may at first seem strange, considering that the British—who are intellectually head and shoulders above the Boers, and, therefore, much more so above the Bantu, it might be concluded—should have less sympathy and community with these people than the Boers, who are but a little above them.

The intolerance of the Boers to the natives may appear even stranger when it is recollected that they have mixed their blood to no negligible degree with the natives—the Hottentots, the Malay slaves, and the Bantu. Most of this was by irregular alliances, and one writer mentions that of every four children born to a slave woman, her Dutch master was responsible for three of them; and others mention that intermarriages between the Dutch and the native Hottentots were looked upon by the early Dutch settlers as most desirable, and tending to improve the relations of the two nations. Accordingly, therefore, the step was advocated and encouraged, and one of Van Riebeeck's surgeons led the way by taking to wife one Eva, a Hottentot servant girl. When the attitude of the Dutch towards the native

people changed it would be hard to say definitely. Several factors will, no doubt, have been at work in effecting the change, and among these may be mentioned slavery, by which the Dutch gradually came to despise manual labour and ultimately those who performed it; then the continual state of warfare existing between the Dutch and the natives will have caused much bad blood, and a standing race hatred. The evolution of the Boers and their character is a point that is interesting, but the consideration, besides being foreign to our design, would carry us too far afield. All historical writers, however, are agreed on their estimation of the Boer characteristics, and it may not be out of place if, in a few words, we notice this character, for in this way only is it possible to understand some of those apparently inexplicable traits of the Dutch which bear on our subject.

The Dutch, as a people, are noted for great religious theory and equally great irreligious practice. The predominating idea in their religion is that they are the chosen race. All their actions, good, bad, or indifferent, are ascribed to direct inspiration from on high. The blacks, the Dutch make no doubt, are a cursed race appointed from the beginning to be slaves. We use the present tense, because the Dutch have not changed much, if at all, in their ancient ideas. Talking of their religion, Miss Violet Markham says, in p. 23, *South Africa, Past and Present*: "As a people they were remarkable, and are remarkable to this day, for a religious fervour more indicative of a certain low grade of civilisation than for any mental or moral superiority derived from spiritual gifts. Religion of this type is not inconsistent with untruthfulness and faulty rectitude. Psalm-singing and religious phraseology have always been strongly-marked characteristics among the Boers."

Even Dr. Theal, the champion of the Boers, and the writer of what is allowed to be the standard historical work on South Africa—even he remarks of Boer religion, "where side by side with expressions of gratitude to the Creator are found schemes for robbing and enslaving natives, the genuineness of their religion may be doubted."

The Boers not only do not recognise any equality between them and the black people, but they do not admit that black people have any rights, even what are generally spoken of as primary human rights.

"The Briton believes that the coloured man is a human

being, and British law treats him as such. The Boer looks upon him, even if Christianised, civilised, and educated, as a mere animal, and acts accordingly, as often treating him kindly as one does a domestic animal, but as often treating him brutally without compunction, and ridiculing the very idea of his having a claim to the same civil, legal, political, and religious rights as the white man.”¹

Livingstone observes: “The Boers are all traditionally religious . . . they call themselves ‘Christians,’ and all the coloured race are ‘black property,’ or ‘creatures.’ They being the chosen people of God, the heathen are given to them for an inheritance, and they are the rod of divine vengeance on the heathen as were the Jews of old.”²

On this fact depends all the relations of Boers to blacks, and what those relations are anybody can foresee, for it is impossible to give such things as justice to any person who is even suspected to be, in fact, an animal. One shows one’s own horse, one’s own dog, some pity and consideration, but when one comes to just an animal, and a dangerous one too, one is apt to do away with it.

Such a thing as “equality of white and black in the sight of God” was never acceded to by the Boers—whence Article IX. of the Transvaal Grondwet (Constitution), disclaiming an equality between white and black in Church and State, and whence the Union Act (1910) practically confirming the Grondwet. Now the Bantu are sentient beings, and it cannot be expected that they could ever feel flattered by such expressions in word and deed about them. It is a remarkable fact that with whatsoever tribe of the Bantu the Dutch have come into contact, some serious difference between the two nations has always been the upshot. These facts are well to be remembered when the supposed causes of the so-called Kafir Wars are read.

We have shown that the British and Boer disputes have, in most cases, resulted from their divergent views as to the position of the Muntu (pl., Bantu) in the scheme of Creation,—the Boers believing him to be of brute creation, and the British recognising him as a man. We have shown how the Boer idea was incompatible with justice in government, and how the British Imperial idea prompted justice and fair play. These

¹ W. Schreiner’s *The Africander Bond*.

² *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, p. 27.

facts have been put before the reader in the government of the Bantu independently by the Boer and English States before the Union.

We have shown how the Boers have won for themselves among the blacks a notoriety for repression, inhumanity, and injustice. How, from first to last, the Bantu have shunned the Boer overtures as they would pestilence. We have seen how, in the Anglo-Boer Wars, the Bantu have come forward to take the field against the Boers. Altogether it may be summed up in a few words—the Bantu have lost all respect for the Boers (if ever they acquired any). Perhaps the Boers did not think it counted, whether gaining or losing the respect of such an ignoble folk; but cruel deeds as well as noble deeds, even to such a folk, have far-reaching effects.

What about the British people—the other white nation which has been in contact with the Bantu? How have the British behaved to these poor people? How have the British impressed the Bantu in the past: how do they impress them in the present? How are the British going to impress the Bantu in the future? These are the three questions we next put to ourselves—for these are the questions that the Bantu ask themselves, and ask Great Britain. They can answer two of the three questions with no hesitation. The third question can be better answered by the British Government and the British people, and it would be presumption on our part to dictate a line of action.

1. *How have the British people impressed the Bantu in the past?* The question is easily answered on historical data, and this answer has, in fact, been already given, if, perhaps, in an unrecognisable form. The history of the relation of Britain to the Bantu is the history of the British Government over the subject races all over the world, a history which, whatever its faults and blemishes, is characterised by justice and respect for human rights. These facts are even more forcibly borne out in South Africa, where they stand out in shining relief against the diametrically opposed Boer system.

Here in South Africa, where British missionaries and teachers have done far more than any others for the regeneration of the Bantu; here where the British people and Government have drawn the sword, time and again, to assert Bantu rights, Britain has done much for the Bantu people and greatly advanced their course. They are what they are because of

this great Empire, which not only frowned at slavery but took active steps to abolish it among all slave-holding nations, including the Dutch of South Africa.

No doubt in South Africa, as elsewhere, great mistakes and injustices have been committed at times. No doubt a governor here, and another British official there, now and then sullied the British *régime*. But such autocrats, however imperious, could not inaugurate a new British Colonial Policy, so long as they were answerable to a more liberal opinion at home. India and South Africa furnish well-known examples of this fact. It is not, then, from the harm such officious men have done, as from the total amount of good done as against the total amount of harm that we must draw our conclusions. In South Africa, as in India, and, in fact, as in all colonies, the good that Britain did for the natives far outbalanced the evil. We are considering the dealings of the British with the Bantu *in the past*, therefore we say "*did*." The Bantu know these things and appreciate their import, and, as we have said, an opportunity for comparison and contrast has made them realise the facts better. The humane policy of Great Britain towards them has won their regard for her, the justice and fair play to them has won respect for her, the protection and maternal solicitude has won their love for her. In that way have they been impressed by the British, and so they have shown it in word and deed.

One after another of the native tribes has voluntarily appealed to Great Britain for protection. So did the Fingoes, the Basuto of Moshesh, the Bangwato of Khama, the Barolong of Montsioa, the Swazis of Umbandine, and the Barotse of Lewanika. So they did because they had confidence in the integrity of Great Britain, whose head, the late Queen Victoria of beloved memory, they looked to as their very mother, for it was in her reign that they severally sought, and came under, British protection. It was in her reign that their interests were jealously guarded by the Imperial Government of Great Britain.

As a poor recompense for the protection accorded these people have identified themselves at all times with the interests of their protectors. Thus it was, and not on account of any imagined abstract love of shedding blood, that they offered their services to Britain in her war against the Boers, and thus it is that at the outbreak of the Great War, the moment Great Britain was implicated, the Bantu again proffered their services—thousands going to help in the German West African cam-

paign, and thousands more coming to France. These are the good fruits of the seed sown years ago. The bread that was cast upon the water has been found after many days. Justice, humanity, and sacrifice have been repaid by confidence, respect, and love. We next ask—

2. *How are the British impressing the Bantu in the present?*

This question is not as easy to answer as the last one, and it is to be feared the answer, when made, is not such a happy one. Things are changing, and changing fast, in South Africa. Like the last, this question has been partly answered under "Government of the Bantu since the Union." Here the reader has seen how slowly but surely the happy condition of the Bantu under the Imperial *régime* is being replaced by the unhappy one under the Republican *régime*—how that, in spite of the definite Republican material spread broadcast in South Africa, the commodity is nevertheless labelled "British."

These facts arouse questionings, doubts, and misgivings in the Bantu minds. The steady curtailing of their liberties, the systematic disappearance of their lands, the increasing prevalence of such words as "expediency" in the place of "right" and "justice," the deepening and broadening of the gulf of race feeling, just when it should be narrowing—these are not calculated to awake happy thoughts. So far from that, they seem to bode nothing but ill. And the Bantu are somewhat dismayed at the sudden change for the worse. The name of Britain to them stood for perfection in government. It was a name of strength. It was synonymous with honour. They have known this and proved this in the past. Never have they doubted what they discovered for themselves, and proved over and over again. But now, in these last few years, events have followed one another which pass under the name "British," and yet these events lack that British spirit of magnanimity. Some of them are directly opposed to it. These facts have occasioned serious misgivings. If things go as they are now going in South Africa, the end is quite easy to foresee. If the rulers, under the name of British, divorce the British love of Justice and Humanity, it is impossible the ruled can retain their happy feelings of confidence and respect. Fortunately matters have not come to that pass as yet. A few mistakes can be easily corrected, a few unjust measures withdrawn, and the harmonious relations between ruler and ruled thus assured for the good of both parties. The most unjust measure is the Natives' Land

Act, which we have mentioned elsewhere, as this must ultimately reduce the Bantu *en bloc* to serfdom.

Speaking on "The Empire and Subject Races," Professor Gilbert Murray says: "Now, in these questions, we English occupy a special position. In most cases, though not all, it is we ourselves who are the governing race, the heroes or the villains of the piece. That is to say, for this particular occasion we must regard our Empire in a spirit of self-criticism, not in a spirit of glorification. We come to hear grievances, to consider what errors we have committed, to think of remedying the faulty points of our Empire, not of boasting and rejoicing in the good points. . . . If a spirit of excessive criticism is dangerous to an empire, I think any study of history will show us that empires are subject to another disease, fully as dangerous, and a thousand times more common—the disease of violence and vain-glory, the disease of always siding with our friends, and preferring national pride to justice."

3. *How will Great Britain impress the Bantu in the future?* That is a question which, as we have said, can be better answered by the rulers than the ruled. The impression they have thus far created has solely depended upon their native policy, and this will continue to be the case.

Benevolence has invariably evoked loyalty, and if the treatment of the Bantu continues to be based on, and guided by those broad, liberal, and humane sentiments which have always been identified with Imperial Britain, and upon which she prides herself, then the Bantu cannot fail to appreciate the benevolence of their rulers; they cannot but have favourable impressions of them, and respect them for their righteous dealings. If, on the other hand, Britain should not pursue the benevolent policy; if her native policy should be guided entirely by men of Republican and selfish tendencies; if there should be repression where formerly there was protection, and if selfishness should replace liberality, then manifestly the Bantu will be discontented and become sullen. And what about the prestige of the Empire, the Empire which is and likes to be recognised all the world over as the champion and protector of the small nations and weak peoples, especially the black people?

"To the honour of England it stands written on the page of history that, from the first assumption of the government of the Cape of Good Hope she has resolutely set herself the task of meting out justice between the conflicting claims of the

colonists and the natives, that, by assuming this attitude, she rendered her government unacceptable to the mass of the original European inhabitants, but that, in the face of the difficulties and the bitter opposition thus created, she again and again compelled the most stubborn of these European offenders to do justice to the coloured races whose champion and protector she was." So said the *Contemporary Review* of 1896. In his interesting book, *The Conflict of Colour*, p. 117, Mr. Weale says: "Britain has thus far deservedly stood and been recognised as protector of the dark races. One after another of the native races has called to her for protection. As a guardian she has had perfect right to say: 'Thus far and no further'—'Hands off!'—to grasping foreigners. *What if she betrays her trust?* She has hitherto set an example which strengthened her defensive command when the blacks were oppressed. Was it not the British people that led in the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the exposure of the Congo oppression, in liberal treatment of the blacks? *They (the British) have a charge to keep, and it rests between them and their God how they keep it.*"

What, indeed, if Britain should betray her trust! What, first, for her; what for civilisation; and what for the black races? What also for Christianity?

No more can she in conscience fill the rôle of protector, friend, and mother of the black races. No longer also can she rightly claim to be protector of smaller nations. The oppressors, hitherto kept in check by having to satisfy the enlightened British sentiment, now will be free to do their worst, and then it will be said "the blacks are dying before a higher civilisation," as if civilisation of a high order could really extinguish a race. For the voluntary and high-spirited action of the British in espousing the cause of the blacks has been an example which many European nations have followed from choice or force, and now, should it happen at any time that Britain relinquishes her noble lead, should she, by not continuing the illustrious example, or, by actually going back the opposite way, be obliged to declare or concede to a *laissez-faire*, then woe betide the blacks.

The name and honour of the Empire depends, above all, on her officials, administrators, and governing bodies, especially those in contact with lower civilisations. These have, *in the past*, upheld the honour, justice, and benevolence of Britain, and on them, so long as they rule in the name of Britain, the honour of that name depends.

The famous moralist, Professor F. D. Maurice, in his book, *Social Morality*, pp. 87, 88, says :—

“ You will have native servants under you, you will be tempted, as others have been before you, to think of these servants as members of an inferior race. You will not, of course, call them ‘ niggers,’ as some have done. You will not disgrace our education here so much as to exhibit that stupid ignorance. But, without resorting to any of the epithets which stamp vulgarity upon all who condescend to them, you may be tempted to say, ‘ We have a right to treat these people as brutes, for, in many ways, they show themselves so.’ Understand that they have a brutal nature in them, as you have a brutal nature in you. If you speak to the brutal nature in them—if you assume that there is nothing else in them but that—you will cultivate it in yourself. The distance between them and you, of which you boast, will diminish at every moment. You will sink to their level. It is only to the force which your country wields that you will appeal for the preservation of your superiority. And that force you will be weakening. Your treatment of the natives will be doing more to shake it than a hundred blunders in legislation. For the manners of men affect men more than the acts of councils or the decrees of judges. If England reigns by force, her reign must come to a speedy end. If she reigns by justice and gentleness, you, her sons, must show forth those qualities in your acts. No one will believe in them because we talk about them, because our newspapers say that the world ought to admire us for them. By our fruits we shall be known and judged. By our conduct to servants it will be shown whether we are fit to be masters or whether we must sink into servants of servants.”

The Attorney-General of Cape Colony, in 1847, uttered some words contained in the Parliamentary Papers of February of that year, pp. 18, 19. Speaking on the relations of whites and blacks, he said : “ This profound contempt of colour and lofty pride of caste contains within it the concentrated essence of an active principle of all the tyranny and oppression which white has ever exercised over black. But the Cape frontier European is not alone. A member of the British House of Commons, in one of the New Zealand debates, has lately said that the brown man is destined everywhere to disappear before the white man, and that such is the law of nature. It is true that an induction of historical instances would seem to justify this theory. The

history of colonisation is the record of the dark man's disappearance. But, to use Lord Plunket's well-known words, 'history unenlightened by philosophy is no better than an old almanac,' and, while it is undisputable that the contact of a civilisation of a *certain grade* with men uncivilised has been and must ever be destructive to the latter, it is yet to be tried whether civilisation of a higher order—civilisation in comparison with which the so-called civilisation of former times was barbarism—is not destined to reverse the process and prove that the tendency of true civilisation is not to destroy but to preserve; and surely if this problem still awaits its solution, by no nation so fitly as by England can the great experiment be made."¹

"The backward race ought to receive all such private and civil rights as it can use for its own benefit. It ought to have a full protection in person and property, as complete an access to all professions and occupations, as wide a power of entering into contracts, as ready an access to the courts as the more advanced race enjoys.

"*Politically.*—As regards political rights, race and blood should not be made the ground of discrimination. Where the bulk of the coloured race are obviously unfit for political power, a qualification based on property and education might be established which should permit the upper section of that race to enjoy the suffrage. Such a qualification would, doubtless, exclude some of the poorest and most ignorant whites, and might, on that ground, be resisted. But it is better to face this difficulty than to wound and alienate the whole of the coloured race by placing them without the pale of civic functions and duties."

"*Socially.*—As regards social relations, law can do but little save in the way of expressing the view that the State takes of how its members should behave to one another. Good feeling and good manners cannot be imposed by statute. The best hope lies in the slow growth of better sentiment. Manners depend upon sentiment, and sentiment changes slowly—still it changes. It has changed as regards torture. It has changed as regards slavery."²

Speaking on "Empire Citizenship," Lord Milner, one of the ablest administrators ever sent out to South Africa, says of the subject races:—

¹ Parl. Papers.

² Viscount Bryce.

“ Given complete equality of status with their British fellow-countrymen, they may not be insensible of the dignity of their position as citizens of the Empire, or unwilling to share in its burdens and its glory. . . . It would be a mistake to undervalue the attachment to the Empire which undoubtedly exists even among the subject races of India and Africa, however crude and childlike may be, must be in the majority of the people, their conception of what the Empire is. I have certainly had occasion myself to realise the strength of that sentiment in some of the African tribes.”

Failing all this—and if the whites of South Africa cannot see their way to opening the doors of political, civil, and social equality to the Bantu, whether from their revulsion at the idea of sharing equal treatment with the blacks under the same institutions, or from a conviction that black and white differ so very much politically that they cannot possibly co-operate under the same equitable political laws—a dogmatism, however, for which there is neither historical precedent, practical justification, nor reasonable warrant, even though no less an authority than General J. C. Smuts expressed as much in other words—if for any reason whatsoever the above similar suggestions of Viscount Bryce and Viscount Milner (both experienced and able administrators) cannot be put into practice, then there is another solution equally acceptable. This is *Equitable Separation*—on the lines suggested by General Smuts in his Savoy speech. “ Independent self-governing institutions for the ” Bantu “ people,” so that “ you have all over South Africa large areas inhabited entirely by blacks where the blacks are looking after themselves according to their own ways of life and forms of government,” and large areas inhabited by whites also looking after themselves in their own ways of life and forms of government, “ and the political government ” must “ be such that each will be satisfied and will develop according to its own proper rights.” Such a scheme if equitably carried out, would be highly satisfactory, and in that way can the dangers of “ the native problem ” that exists for the whites and “ the foreign problem ” that exists for the blacks be considerably minimised and perhaps successfully combated. But first and foremost, THE SEPARATION MUST BE EQUITABLE.

Such a just, fair, and equitable separation can alone provide the privileges of self-government and free constitutional life to black and white.

1. The separation must be carried out on a proper constitutional basis by the co-operation of both parties—black and white—not by indirect representation of any party, or it must be carried through by arbitration.
2. The land must be fairly divided as to locality and size.
3. Each community—black and white—must have complete national independence and absolute autonomy.

MOGOPOLONYANA

Ngoana-ka, Mothoecho, le losika loame
 Loco, coelo, kunyo, khumo maumo a mogopolo
 Pelego ea kgopolo—eone popelo, uena popo !
 Legodimo lego nyenyele, matshego a lone a go nele !
 Eo ke kopo le thapelo eame.
 A Legodimo le e arabe.

Mo ditseleng, le mo ditekong tsa go,
 Fatshing lele la gae, le le la boeng,
 A ditsala a baba u kopanang nabo,
 Botsala joa legodimo enne joa gago
 Jalo kgopolo, lenceo tiro ea go di lire molemo
 Le godimo-dimo le thuse jalo.

Morena—monei—ngoana eo asa shoele tlung !
 Mogologolo—megopolo e esa oele fatshe !
 Möoa oa Tshiamo—mancoo a asa tseoe ke phefo !
 Moroa oa Thata—tironyana e, e tshegofatse !
 Ngoana, Lokoalo loame enne tihare sese humang,
 Se nosedioe, se disioe ke Godimo-dimo.

APPENDIX

SELECT CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS BEARING ON PART II.—THE PAST, AND PART III.—THE PRESENT

SECTION A.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

THE GRONDWET OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC (FEBRUARY 1858)

9. The people desire to permit no equality between coloured and white inhabitants, either in Church or State.

31. . . . No coloured persons or half-castes shall be admitted to our meetings.

REGULATING THE GENERAL FRANCHISE OF THE BURGHERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC (LAW No. 1, 1876. 12TH JUNE 1876)

No person not regarded as belonging to the white population of the South African Republic shall be enrolled as a burgher possessing the franchise according to Article 9 of the Grondwet.

RESOLUTION OF THE VOLKSRAAD (18TH JUNE 1885)

159. When a male person has been recognised as a burgher of this Republic, his wife shall thereby also be recognised and remain a burgheress of this Republic.

All coloured people are excluded from this provision, and (in accordance with the Grondwet) they may never be given or granted rights of burghership. . . .

THE THIRTY-THREE ARTICLES (9TH APRIL 1844)

BEING GENERAL REGULATIONS AND LAWS FOR THE LAW SESSIONS.

6. . . . No half-castes, down to the tenth degree, shall be entitled to sit in our meetings as a member or a judge.

ANNEXATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE (12TH APRIL 1877)

PROCLAMATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE.

WHEREAS, etc.—That the Sicocoeni (Sekukuni) War, which would have produced but little effect upon a healthy constitution, has not only proved suddenly fatal to the resources and reputation of the Republic, but has shown itself to be a culminating point in the history of South Africa, in that a Makatee or Basuto tribe, unwarlike and of no account in Zulu estimation, successfully withstood the strength of the State, and disclosed for the first time to the native tribes outside the Republic, from the Zambesi to the Cape, the great change that had taken place in the relative strength of the white and black races. That this disclosure at once shook the prestige of the white man in South Africa, and placed every European community in peril.

. . . Now, therefore, I do . . . proclaim, etc.

Equal justice is guaranteed to the persons and property of both white and coloured, but the adoption of this principle does not and should not involve the granting of equal civil rights, such as the exercise of the right of voting by savages, or their becoming members of a Legislative body, or being entitled to other civil privileges which are incompatible with their uncivilised condition.

The native tribes living within the jurisdiction and under the protection of the Government, must be taught due obedience to the paramount authority, and be made to contribute their fair share towards the support of the State that protects them.

THE CONVENTION OF PRETORIA (3RD AUGUST 1881)

CONVENTION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL TERRITORY.

XIII. Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will in every case be made to, and registered in the name of, the Native Location Commission hereinafter mentioned, in trust for such natives.

THE LONDON CONVENTION (27TH FEBRUARY 1884)

WHEREAS the Government of the Transvaal State, through its delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (President of the said State), etc., have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August 1881 . . . contains certain provisions which are inconvenient. . . .

4. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

12. The Independence of the Swazis within the boundary line of Swaziland . . . will be fully recognised.

14. All persons other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic. . . .

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON,
S. J. P. KRUGER, Etc.

SECTION B.

ORANGE FREE STATE

CONSTITUTION OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE (10TH APRIL
1854, 1866, ETC.)

QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTORS.

1. All *white* persons born in the Orange Free State.
 2. All *white* persons, etc.
 3. All *white* persons, etc.
- (The italics are ours.)

OCCUPATION LAW

ORD. No. 2, 1866.

Art. 46. The Commandants placed over the coloured people shall receive an annual income, the amount of which shall be fixed by the Executive Council and shall be paid from annual taxes to be levied on the coloured people.

49. The coloured people shall be ready at all times, if they are called upon by their Chiefs or by their Commandant, to defend the frontiers against invasion or other hostile action.

ORD. No. 3, 1866, 23RD MAY.

1. Captain Molappo, and his people, including the subordinate captains as mentioned in Art. 4 of the Treaty of Peace, concluded on 26th March 1866, are subjects of the Orange Free State.

6. No person subordinate to Captain Molappo shall be allowed to leave the lands assigned to him to live on, without being provided with a printed pass signed by the official stationed there, a sixpence being charged for every pass, and anyone not complying with this provision may be punished with not more than 25 lashes, or imprisonment with hard labour not exceeding three months.

11. It shall not be permitted to Molappo or any of the subordinate captains or subjects, to take in or accommodate for more than 24 hours any coloured or white person coming from elsewhere, without the permission of the Commandant, etc.

THE CONVENTION OF ALIWAL NORTH (12TH FEBRUARY 1869)

His Excellency, Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse . . . Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. . . .

And Johannes Hendricus Brand, Esq., President of the Orange Free State, etc.

6. Upon the written request of the Chief Molappo to the Volksraad of the Orange Free State for himself and his people to be relieved from their subjection to that State, and to become British subjects, the Volksraad shall grant the said request. . . .

(Signed) P. E. WODEHOUSE.
J. H. BRAND, Etc.

SECTION C.

NATAL

BRITISH RESIDENTS IN NATAL

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH RESIDENTS AT PORT NATAL AND DINGAAN, KING OF THE ZULUS, 6TH MAY 1885.

1. Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

2. The British Residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country, or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

3. Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingaan.

4. Any infringement of this Treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella this 6th day of May 1835 in persence of—

Umthella } Chief Indunas and Head Councillors of the
Tambooza } Zulu Nation.

Mr George Cyrus, *Interpreter*.

(Signed) ALLEN F. GARDINER.

(*Parl. Papers, S. Afr. C.O., 42, 1884.*)

THE GREAT TREK FROM THE CAPE COLONY

MANIFESTO OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS, 2ND FEBRUARY 1837.

Numerous reports having been circulated throughout the Colony, evidently with the intention of exciting in the minds of our countrymen

prejudice against those that have resolved to emigrate from a colony where they have experienced, for so many years past, a series of the most vexatious and severe losses; and, as we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, and are anxious that they and the world at large should believe us incapable of severing that sacred tie which binds a Christian to his native soil without the most sufficient motives for taking so important a step, and also our intentions respecting our proceedings towards the native tribes which we may meet with beyond the boundary.

1-10. We, etc. (*vide pp, 272, 273*).

CESSION OF TERRITORY

CESSION OF NATAL TERRITORY TO EMIGRANT FARMERS BY DINGAAN,
KING OF THE ZULUS.

UNKUGINSLOAVE,

4th February 1837.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THIS—That whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch Emigrant South Africans, has retaken my cattle which Sikonyella had stolen, which cattle he, the said Retief, now delivered unto me. I, Dingaan, King of the Soolas (*i.e.* Zulus), do hereby certify and declare that I thought fit to resign unto him, the said Retief and his countrymen, the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed. That is to say from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River, and from the sea to the north as far as the land may be useful and in my possession. Which I did by this and give unto to them for their everlasting property.

As Witness—

(Signed) Mvara, G. Raad.

Julianus, do.

Manondu, do.

(Signed) De Merk (en) Van the Mark (in) of
de KONING DINGAAN. King Dingaan.

*As Witnesses—*M. Oosthuizen.

A. C. Greyling.

B. J. Lieberberg.

We certify that the foregoing is a true copy of what was found by us by the bones of the late Mr. Retief in Dingaan's country.

(Signed) A. W. PRETORIUS, *Chief Officer.*

(Signed) K. P. LANDMAN, *Commandant.*

I hereby certify that the above document is a true copy of the Original Grant made by Dingaan to the Emigrant Farmers, and found on the murdered body of the late Pieter Retief, in my presence by Swart Potgieter on or about the 23rd day of December 1838.

(Signed) E. D. WARD PARKER.

CESSION OF NATAL TERRITORY TO THE KING OF
ENGLAND (21ST JUNE 1837)

DINGAAN, KING OF THE ZULUS, TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

I have always treated your white people well. I have given them plenty of ground to hunt upon, but they have been continually at variance, and dispute among themselves and with my people, and I now wish them to be called back to their own country. I have always taken great care of them, have never killed one of them, nor have I ever had such intention. I wish Captain Gardiner and all the missionaries to remain, as I can talk pleasantly to them. I wish a Chief to be sent to Port Natal to pursue peace, and to see that my people do not go down there. If this is done, the white people who are there now may all stop, but, if it is not done, I should wish them to be removed. Captain Gardiner is the Chief you have sent to Port Natal, but he says that he has no power to send my people back who desert from me. I wish him to send them back and I wish him to be the Chief there. If my people who desert to Port Natal are sent away, and not permitted to remain there, I shall be satisfied. I do not ask for them to be sent back, as Captain Gardiner tells me it is contrary to the custom of white kings. This is what I ask: All the ground on which the white people live about Port Natal I give to the King of England. I give him the whole country between the Umgani River and the territory occupied by Faku and Napai from the sea coast to the Quathlamba Mountains, with the exception of a district on the Umgani belonging to me which commences at the mountains called Issicalla Sinyoka.

DINGAAN,
King of the Zulus. } X His sign.

Signed in the presence of the following Chiefs this 21st day of June 1837, at Nobama.

Manyosi, Induna	His mark	X
Mapeeti, "	"	X
Manguanga, "	"	X
Thos. Verity, <i>Interpreter.</i>	"	X

MEMORIAL OF THE EMIGRANTS AT PORT NATAL TO
THE CAPE GOVERNOR, 1839

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR G. NAPIER.

SIR, etc., etc.—The reasons of our emigration are different, some of a personal nature, others arose from public causes. . . . Those of a public nature principally consist of the disgusting Ordinance No. 19 . . . and several laws afterwards published, whereby our slaves have been spoiled, and we ourselves ruined. The emigration was also greatly influenced by the vagabondizing of the Hottentots and free blacks to whom this and also other offensive acts of drunkenness, cursing, swearing,

and profanation of the Sabbath, was allowed with connivance and impunity, add to which the hard treatment which many of us have undergone after the last Kaffir War; plundered without any cause, robbed, and our dwellings destroyed by fire, yea, even our own cattle which had been retaken, publicly sold . . . and the amounts appropriated to purposes contrary to law and equity, without our receiving any remuneration. . . . As to the so-called tame Caffers here, we find that, with the exception of their natural propensity for thieving, which is particularly to eatables as well as old iron, beads, and other trifles, we have no particular reason for being dissatisfied with them—on the contrary, their conduct shows a certain degree of attachment to their master, to whom they, however, bind themselves but for a short time. The women generally are more industrious and better fit for the cultivation of the land, which is also performed by them and their children.

We have the honour, etc.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT AND ALLIANCE PROPOSED
(14TH JANUARY 1841)

PIETER MARITZ BURGH.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B.,
GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, ETC., ETC., ETC., OF THE
COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR,—We are willing and desirous of entering into a perpetual Alliance with the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England on the following principles, etc. :—

8. That this Republic promises never to make any hostile movement against any of the natives or inland tribes who may reside between the boundaries of the said Republic and the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without first giving notice thereof to the Representative of that Government here or to the Governor for the time being of the Colony aforesaid, as also the cause which may have given rise thereto—with exception, however, of such occasions wherein it will be our duty to take immediate steps against the enemy either in opposing or repelling their inroads or contemplated attacks upon us, or upon any of the natives on our frontier and in alliance with us, or in case of robbery to pursue immediately the robbers and overtake them, and in all such cases wherein delay or neglect would be dangerous and prejudicial to us.

9. That, further, we bind ourselves not to extend our boundary line farther to the detriment or disadvantage of any of the surrounding tribes, nor to make, etc.

12. That this Republic undertake and bind themselves never to enter into any Slave Trade, or to encourage, or to assist the same, or to permit any vessel or craft of that trade to enter our ports, or to furnish them with any refreshment. . . .

. . . We do not hesitate to say that we hope to convince the world that so far from tending to serve as a destroyer or corruptor of the

heathen nations of this region, we are in the hands of God the means of preventing robbery, murder, and violence, and even tend to the greater security of the Cape Colony, and to the furtherance of Christian civilization amongst many thousands who up to this time have been in a state of benighted darkness, and which many of the heathen tribes who are living under our protection, and others with whom we have completed peace, will readily acknowledge.

We have the honour to remain, etc., etc.

(Signed)	K. P. LANDMAN, <i>President.</i>	C. V. BUCHNER.
	L. BADENHORST.	L. F. MEYER, J. J. UYS.
	J. P. MOOLMAN.	A. W. F. PRETORIUS.
	JACS. JOHS. BURGHER.	C. J. SCHEEPERS.
	J. C. KLOPPER.	J. C. POTGIETER, R.J.
	V. RENSBURG.	G. R. VAN ROOYEN.

EMIGRANT GRIEVANCES

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR G. T. NAPIER, ETC.

PIETER MARITZ BURGH,
NATAL, 21st February 1842.

SIR,—We, etc., . . . We deny also most positively that we are animated by a feeling of hatred against the English nation, every person on earth is naturally more partial to his own than to any other nation, but as Christians we have learned to love all men.

We will not deny that the laws enacted and promulgated in the Colony by the English Government from time to time respecting us were the only cause for which we left our country and kindred, etc.

To instance some cases, Who was it that forced upon us the increasing evils of slavery, that secured to us a right of property in it? Was it not the same Government who afterwards deprived us of it, and that in a manner which gave us not the least voice as to the best and most fitting means of effecting it? Who was it that promised us full compensation for our slaves? Was it not the same Government that put us off with a third of the real value of our property, and then left us a prey to boot to avaricious and money-seeking dealers? . . . Who was it that employed us without remuneration and at our own expense in the defence of the borders of the Colony against the enemy and the hostile or predatory Kaffirs? Was it not the same Government that afterwards denied us all claim to compensation, erroneously stating as a reason that, by our plundering of the Kaffirs, we had justly drawn their vengeance upon us? . . . That exposed us to be robbed and menaced by the Kaffirs with impunity?

We are able to convince every true philanthropist that our views in making arrangements respecting the removal of the Kaffirs are furnished in a true love of humanity, inasmuch as we have thereby sought to obviate, or to prevent, the probability of hostility and bloodshed,

which would otherwise inevitably result if we permitted the Zoolahs (Zulus) and other natives to settle themselves amongst us. . . . Besides, we caused a contract entered into by the late Mr. Retief with Dingaan to be published as well as our Proclamation, in which the Umzimvubu was appointed as our boundary. Furthermore, we entered into a friendly understanding with Faku himself. . . . He freely acknowledged that the land lawfully belonged to Chaka and afterwards to Dingaan, as far as the Umzimvubu, and that he acknowledged our claim thereto to be founded on justice by the contract hereinbefore mentioned, and by the victory gained by us over that nation. . . .

The surrounding warlike Zulus have been checked in their constant hostile attacks, so that from a fear for us they very seldom and only stealthily take up arms against us. Two missionaries under our protection are already labouring amongst them, and we have the best prospects that the civilisation of that people will be sooner promoted than that of the Kaffirs on the colonial frontiers. . . .

Can reproach be cast upon us should we seek indemnification from our old debtors the Kaffirs for the losses which we have suffered in the Colony. . . .

We pray that the Almighty may prevent this, etc.

We have the honour,

(Signed) J. PRINSLOO, *President.*

J. J. BURGER, *Member and Secretary,*
Etc., etc.

BRITISH AUTHORITY (IN NATAL) CONSOLIDATED
(5TH OCTOBER 1843)

TREATY BETWEEN HENRY CLOETE, ESQ., HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER
FOR NATAL, AND PANDA, KING OF THE ZULUS.

1. There shall be henceforward and forever peace and friendship between the undersigned King Panda and his subjects, and Her Majesty Queen Victoria and all Her Majesty's subjects.

2. It is hereby agreed between the undersigned that the respective boundaries between the territory of Natal and the Zulu Nation shall be defined at the sea-line by the mouth of the River Tugela, and from thence upwards until the junction of that stream with the River Umsinyaatee (or Buffels River), from thence upwards by the said River Umsinyaatee (or Buffels River), or such other boundary line along or near its banks, as may at any time hereafter be fixed upon by the undersigned, Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Territory of Natal, or such other Commissioner as Her Majesty may appoint, and by any two Indunas or Commissioners, whom the undersigned Panda, King of the Zulu Nation, may appoint for that purpose, and from thence northward to the foot of the Quathlamba (or Drakensberg) Mountains.

3. The undersigned Panda, King of the Zulu Nation, hereby agrees and binds himself to direct Koedoe, the Captain of certain kraals placed by the late King Dingaan on the right bank of the Tugela, and

all such other Captains or Chiefs of kraals as may be found to come within the boundaries of the territory of Natal, hereby fixed and determined, to be removed from their respective stations.

The undersigned, Her Majesty's Commissioner, for and on behalf of Her Majesty, hereby agreeing and consenting to allow them to remain until their crops shall have been reaped, and then to take with them all their effects and lawful property.

Thus done and agreed upon, and confirmed by the signature and marks of the undersigned, King Panda, and the undersigned, Her Majesty's Commissioner, at the chief town of Elapeen, on this the 5th day of October 1843, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses—

(Signed) This is the mark of the King X
PANDA, made by himself.
This is the mark of the Induna X
UMVUNLAAN, made by himself.
This is the mark of the Induna X
UMKONDANI, made by himself.

(Signed) H. CLOETE, L.L.,
Her Majesty's High (*sic*) Commissioner.

Witnesses—

(Signed) D. C. Tookey.
C. J. Buissine.

(*Parl. Papers, S. Afr. C.O., 42, 1884.*)

[NATIVE FRANCHISE (No. 11, 1865. 24TH AUGUST 1865)

LAW DISQUALIFYING CERTAIN NATIVES FROM EXERCISING ELECTORAL FRANCHISE.

WHEREAS the numerous Natives residing in this Colony are, by the 28th Article of Her Majesty's Instructions, given at Buckingham Palace on the 8th day of March 1848, under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, placed under special control, and made subject to their own laws, customs and usages, and are, consequently, only partially brought under the operation of the general laws of the Colony. AND WHEREAS by Her Majesty's Letters Patent given at Westminster the 15th day of July, in the 20th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, erecting Natal into a separate Colony, and amongst other provisions therein contained constituting an Elective Legislative Council for the said Colony, it is by the said Letters Patent declared and ordained that every man above the age of twenty-one years, save and except certain persons disqualified by the provisions of the said Letters Patent, who possesses any immovable property of the yearly value of £10, and who is duly registered, shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member for the said Legislative Council. AND WHEREAS it is contemplated to grant to the said Natives documentary titles to certain lands within the said Colony by which many of the said Natives would become possessed of the pro-

perty qualifications required to exercise the electoral franchise under the said Letters Patent; And whereas it is deemed to be inexpedient that the said Natives should so long as they continue subject to the special provisions of the aforesaid 28th Article of Her Majesty's Instructions, exercise the said privilege. . . .

Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Natal, etc., as follows :—

1. Every male Native resident in this Colony, or having the necessary property qualifications therein, whether subject to the operation of the native lands, customs and usages in force in this Colony or exempted therefrom save as in this law is provided, shall be disqualified from becoming a duly registered elector, and shall not be entitled to vote at the election of a member of the Legislative Council for any electoral district of the Colony of Natal.

2. Any male native inhabitant of this Colony who shall show to the satisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor that he has been resident in this Colony for a period of twelve years, or that he has been occasionally resident therein equivalent to a twelve years' residence, and who shall possess the requisite property qualifications, and shall have been exempted from the operation of Native Law for a period of seven years, and who shall produce to the Lieutenant-Governor a certificate signed by three duly qualified electors of European origin as near as may be to the form in Schedule A hereunto appended and endorsed by a Justice of the Peace or Resident Magistrate of the district in which such native resides, a statement to the effect that the Justice or Resident Magistrate endorsing said certificate has no reason to doubt the truth of said certificate, and that the persons signing it are credible persons, shall be entitled to petition the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal for a certificate to entitle him to be registered as a duly qualified elector for that electoral division in the Colony in which such native may possess the requisite property qualification.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor may direct that the application of any such native be published in the *Government Gazette*, and call upon any person having objection to any such native becoming a duly qualified elector, to submit such objection to the Secretary for Native Affairs for the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor may make such rules and orders in and about the publication of any such application, and receiving and entertaining and deciding upon and objection thereto, as may to him seem necessary.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor may, at his discretion, grant or refuse to any native applying in manner aforesaid for such certificate, entitling him to be registered as a duly qualified elector, provided always no such certificate shall be granted unless it shall have been published in manner described in Clause 3, at least three months previous to the granting hereof.

6. Every male native who shall have been exempted from the operation of Native law, customs and usages, for a period of seven years, and who shall have obtained a certificate from the Lieutenant-Governor entitling such native to be registered as an elector, and who shall be possessed of the immovable property qualification required by any law

in force for the time being in that behalf, shall be entitled to be duly registered as an elector, and, when registered, shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member of the Legislative Council for such district in which he may possess such property.

7. Every male native to whom such certificate shall have been granted by the Lieutenant-Governor shall, so long as he may possess the requisite property qualification, and who shall not be convicted of treason, or of any infamous crime, or of any crime which, if committed in England would be felony, shall be subject to the provisions of Her Majesty's Letters Patent given at Westminster 15th July in the 20th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, or any law in force for the time being in that behalf, be entitled to vote at the election of a member of the Legislative Council for the district in which he may possess such property qualification, etc.

(*P.R.O., C.O., 180/3.*)

FRANCHISE AMENDMENT LAW, 1883 (No. 2, 1883.
29TH MARCH 1883)

LAW TO AMEND THE FRANCHISE.

WHEREAS, etc.

6. No person belonging to a class which is placed by special legislation under the jurisdiction of Special Courts, or is subject to special laws and tribunals, shall be entitled to be placed on the Voters' List, or to vote at the election of any member of the Legislative Council, Provided that any such person may be exempted from the operation of this clause by letters of exemption granted to such person by the Governor of the Colony. Provided, etc.

ANNEXATION OF ZULULAND (No. 37, 1897.
29TH DECEMBER 1897)

ACT TO PROVIDE THE ANNEXATION TO THE COLONY OF NATAL OF THE
TERRITORY OF ZULULAND.

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Natal, as follows:—

3. From and after the taking effect of this Act, the Territory of Zululand shall become annexed to and shall henceforth be a portion of the Colony of Natal, and shall be known as the Province of Zululand.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE TO NATIVES

ORDINANCE . . . FOR PROVIDING FOR BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AMONGST THE NATIVES.

28. AND WHEREAS the said District of Natal is inhabited by numerous Tribes, Natives of the said District or of the Countries thereunto

adjacent, whose ignorance and habits unfit them for the duties of civilised life, and it is necessary to place them under special control, until, having been duly capacitated to understand such duties, they may reasonably be required to render ready obedience to the Laws in force in the said District, we do hereby declare it to be Our Will and Pleasure that you will make known by Proclamation to Our loving subjects, and to all other persons residing in the said Districts, that, in assuming the Sovereignty thereof, we have not interfered with or abrogated, any law, custom, or usage prevailing among the inhabitants previously to the assertion of Sovereignty over the said District, except so far as the same may be repugnant to the general principles of humanity, etc.

21st June 1849.

(Signed) M. WEST.

(Signed) D. MOODIE, *Secretary to Government.*

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION LAW (No. 26, 1875.
17TH DECEMBER 1875)

LAW TO PROVIDE FOR BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AMONG
THE NATIVES OF NATAL.

2. It shall be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being to appoint persons of European descent, who shall be called Administrators of Native Law, as also Native Chiefs or other Native Officers, to preside and exercise authority over, and administer justice among Natives living under Native Law.

SECTION D.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

SALE OF CHRISTIAN SLAVES

PROCLAMATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN
FRANCIS CRADOCK, 9TH OCTOBER 1812.

WHEREAS by a Resolution taken by the Governor in Council at Batavia, dated the 10th April 1870, it is enacted and prescribed, that Slaves who have been catechised and confirmed in the Christian Religion, shall not be sold, and whereas by experience it has appeared that a Law intended for the promotion of Christianity and true Religion has not been attended with the desired, but rather the contrary, effect.

His Excellency hereby enacts and ordains, that the said clause of the Batavian Law of 1770 be repealed and of no effect; and it is hereby repealed and annulled, from the date of this Proclamation.

And that no person may plead ignorance hereof, this shall be published and affixed as usual.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES

AN ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH COLONIES, FOR PROMOTING THE INDUSTRY OF THE MANUMITTED SLAVES, AND FOR COMPENSATING THE PERSONS HITHERTO ENTITLED TO THE SERVICES OF SUCH SLAVES.

[On the 28th August 1833, the Bill for setting free the slaves in the British Dominions received the Royal Assent. Slavery was to cease at a certain date—in the Cape Colony the 1st of December 1834 was the date fixed. Slaves over six years of age had to pass through a Transition Stage, a period of apprenticeship. The British Parliament voted a sum of £20,000,000 to compensate the owners for the loss of their slaves throughout the Empire. There were 39,021 slaves in the Colony when the Act came into force, for which the owners were offered £3,041,290, 6s. A number of Special Justices of the Peace were sent out from England, and others were appointed in the country, to assist in carrying out the Act.]

(*Cape of Good Hope Ord.* No. 1, 1835.)

INCORPORATION OF BRITISH KAFFRARIA
(No. 3, 1865. 10TH OCTOBER 1865)

ACT TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE INCORPORATION OF BRITISH KAFFRARIA WITH THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AND TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT OF THE SAID COLONY.

[Kaffraria became a British Crown Colony in 1847, the Government Offices being situated at King William's Town.]

WHEREAS by the third section of the Imperial Act, 28th of Her Majesty, Chapter 5, the Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope is empowered to make provision for the incorporation of the territory of British Kaffraria with the Cape of Good Hope, and it is enacted that when and as soon as the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, as Governor of British Kaffraria, assents, in manner and form as in the said section is set forth, to the provision so made, then, and from and after the date of such assent, British Kaffraria shall become incorporated with the Cape of Good Hope, on the terms of such provision, for all purposes whatever, as if British Kaffraria had always formed part of the Cape of Good Hope. And whereas it is expedient that such provision as aforesaid should be made, and that the same should take effect when, and as soon as the Governor of British Kaffraria shall, by virtue of his powers as such Governor, and by Laws and ordinances by him made, have divided British Kaffraria into two parts, to form, after such incorporation as aforesaid, electoral divisions of the Cape of Good Hope, each of which shall be entitled to send two members to the House of Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope. . . . Be it enacted . . . as follows, etc.

ANNEXATION OF BASUTOLAND (No. 12, 1871.

11TH MAY 1871)

AN ACT FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE OF THE TERRITORY INHABITED BY THE TRIBE OF PEOPLE CALLED BASUTOS.

WHEREAS by a Proclamation dated the 12th day of March 1868, by His Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse . . . published on the 13th day of March 1868 in the *Government Gazette* of this Colony, it was declared that from and after the publication thereof, the Tribe of the Basutos should be and should be taken to be for all intents and purposes British subjects, and the Territory of the said Tribe should be and should be taken to be British Territory. And whereas the territory is contiguous, on a considerable portion of its boundary, to the boundary of this Colony, and it is for other reasons also desirable that the said Territory should be annexed to this Colony, so that this Colony in its present extent, together with the said Territory, may form one Colony. And whereas the said Tribe of the Basutos are not yet sufficiently advanced in civilisation and social progress to be admitted to the full enjoyment, and be subjected to the full responsibility granted and imposed respectively by the ordinary laws of the Colony to and upon the other citizens thereof, but it is expedient for the time being, the said tribe and the territory thereof should be subjected to special administration and legislation. Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:—

I. That from and after the publication by the Governor of the Colony of a Proclamation for bringing this Act into operation, the said Territory, bounded as follows, that is to say, from the junction of the Cornet Spruit with the Orange River, along the centre of the former to the point nearest the Olifants Been, from that point by Olifants Been to the southern point of Langeberg, along the top of Langeberg, to its north-western extremity, from thence to the eastern point of Jammerberg, along the top of Jammerberg to its north-western extremity, from thence by a prolongation of the same to the Caledon River, along the centre of the Caledon River to its junction with the Klein River, at the Mount Aux Sources, thence westwards along the Drakensberg, between the watersheds of the Orange River and the St. John's River, to the source of the Tees, down the centre of that river to its junction with the Orange River, and down the centre of the latter river to its junction with the Cornet Spruit, shall be and the same is hereby annexed to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, so that the Territory heretofore included in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope shall for the future, together with the said Territory hereinbefore defined form the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, but the Territory hereinbefore defined shall nevertheless be and remain, for the time being, subject to the laws, rules, and regulations now in force therein for the government thereof, and shall not by virtue of such annexation as hereinbefore is mentioned, be or become subject to the general law of this Colony.

II. Power to frame, repeal or amend laws for the annexed Territory

s vested in the Governor. Cape laws to apply only when specially extended to the said Territory. All laws, etc., to be laid before Parliament, who may disallow them.

III. Cape Courts to have jurisdiction in certain cases.

IV. Annexed Territory to be called Basutoland.

V. This Act may be cited as "The Basutoland Annexation Act, 1871."

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/5.*)

ANNEXATION OF TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES

(No. 38, 1877. 15TH AUGUST 1879)

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE OF THE COUNTRY SITUATED BETWEEN THE BASHEE AND THE KEI, COMMONLY KNOWN AS FINGOLAND AND THE IDUTYWA RESERVE, AND THE COUNTRY SITUATED BETWEEN THE UMTATA AND THE UMZIM-KULU, COMMONLY KNOWN AS NOMANSLAND, AND FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAID TERRITORIES.

WHEREAS, etc.

IV. This Act may be cited as the "Transkeian Annexation Act, 1877."

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/6.*)

ANNEXATION OF GRIQUALAND WEST (No. 39, 1879.

CONFIRMED 15TH AUGUST 1879)

AN ACT TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THIS COLONY OF THE PROVINCE OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

WHEREAS, etc., etc.

XXXIV. This Act may be cited as the "Griqualand West Annexation Act, 1877."

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/6.*)

DISANNEXATION OF BASUTOLAND (No. 34, 1883.

RESERVED 18TH MARCH 1884)

ACT FOR THE DISANNEXATION OF BASUTOLAND FROM THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

WHEREAS it is desirable that Basutoland should cease to form part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and whereas Her Majesty's Imperial Government has expressed its willingness to provide for the future Government of Basutoland upon certain conditions, etc.

IV. The short title of this Act shall be the "Basutoland Disannexation Act, 1883."

(*P.R.O., C.O., 60/7.*)

ANNEXATION OF TEMBULAND

[A Bill to provide for the annexation of Tembuland was passed in 1880, but was not confirmed.]

(PROMULGATED 14TH JULY 1885. No. 3, 1885)

ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE OF THE BRITISH TERRITORIES KNOWN AS TEMBULAND, EMIGRANT TEMBULAND, GCALEKALAND AND BOMVANALAND, AND FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAID TERRITORIES.

Letters Patent of 2nd October 1884 had authorised the annexation.

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/7.*)

ANNEXATION OF PONDOLAND (No. 5, 1894.
25TH SEPTEMBER 1894)

ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ANNEXATION OF THE COUNTRY KNOWN AS PONDOLAND.

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/8.*)

ANNEXATION OF BRITISH BECHUANALAND
(No. 41, 1895. 11TH NOVEMBER 1895)

ACT TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THIS COLONY OF THE TERRITORY OF BRITISH BECHUANALAND.

(*P.R.O., C.O., 50/8.*)

SECTION E.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA ACT, 1909 (9 EDW. 7, CH. 9)

IV.—(26) The qualifications of a senator shall be as follows—
He must, etc.

Be a British subject of European descent.

36. Subject to the provisions . . . the qualifications of parliamentary voters, as existing in the several colonies, at the establishment of the Union shall be the qualifications necessary to entitle persons in the corresponding provinces to vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly. . . .

44. The qualifications of a member of the House of Assembly shall be as follows—

He must, etc.

(c) Be a British subject of European descent.

X.—AMENDMENT OF ACT.

14. It shall not be lawful to alienate any land in Basutoland or any land forming part of the native reserves in Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland from the native tribes inhabiting those territories.

NATIVES LAND ACT, 1913¹

V.—(1) Any person who is a party to any attempted purchase, sale, hire or lease, or to any agreement or transaction which is in contravention to this Act, or any regulation made thereunder, shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months, and if the act constituting the offence be a continuing one, the offender shall be liable to a further fine not exceeding five pounds for every day during which that act continues.

Shortly before the outbreak of the war, Lord Gladstone, Governor-General of South Africa, appointed the following Commission to inquire and report upon the operation of the Natives' Land Act—Sir William Beaumont (chairman), General Schalk Burger, Senator Stanford, Right Hon. C. H. Wessels, and Mr. W. R. Collins. The following were the terms of reference :—

“(a) What areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land.

“(b) What areas within the Union of South Africa should be set apart as areas within which persons other than Natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land ;

and further to inquire into and report upon many matters incidental to the setting apart of such areas which may be placed before them by the Minister of Native Affairs.”²

The Commission was given two years to carry out its labours, and any extension of this period could only be granted by Parliament. Owing to the outbreak of war, the Commission applied for and received an extension of one year. Its conclusions are now before the public.

The outstanding features of the Report are :—

1. The Recommendation of additional areas for Native occupation.
2. The Recommendations of Sir William Beaumont in his “ Minority Report ” that the delimitation of European and Bantu areas should not apply to Natal and Zululand.

¹ This Act has been declared *ultra vires* on the ground of its conflicting with the South Africa Act. It will be the simplest thing, however, for white South Africa to amend the South Africa Act to suit more Natives' Lands Acts.

² *Journal of the African Society*, October, 1916.

	Native Popula- tion.	Before the Commission.		Recommended by Commission.	
		Land Occupied.	Acres per Native.	Scheduled Areas.	Acres per Native.
		Acres.		Acres.	
(a) Cape Colony .	1,900,000	13,000,000	7	16,200,000	8½
(b) Natal . . .	1,000,000	6,100,000	6	10,260,000	10
(e) Transvaal . .	1,200,000	2,400,000	2	13,500,000	11¼
(d) Orange Free State	350,000	163,000	½	489,000	1⅓

	Total Population.	Total Land Recommended.
Union of South Africa.	Natives : 5,000,000 Whites : 1,300,000	Natives : 40,000,000 acres. Whites : 260,000,000 „

It will be observed that even when the scheduled areas have been finally delimited the 5,000,000 coloured races within the Union will occupy only 40,000,000 acres, whilst the areas within which the 1,300,000 whites may acquire interests total 260,000,000 acres. When every allowance has been made for the intense industry of the white races, it cannot be claimed that this allowance errs on the side of generosity to the natives, nor does it seem to provide adequately for the increase of native population. This racial disproportion of land occupancy does not end with the extent of land. Sir William Beaumont says:—

“If the defined (already) Native areas are examined, it will be found that most of them are already largely occupied by Natives, and that there is not much room for more, while in some areas the lands are so poor or so malarial, or so distant, that the Natives would not go to them.”¹

¹ *Journal of the African Society*, October, 1916.

ADDENDA

AMA-MTEMBU OR TEMBUS

IF the genealogical scheme of the Xosa rulers be referred to, it will be seen that the tribe we are now about to consider is, strictly speaking, not a Xosa tribe at all, its founder Mtembu being, like Xosa, a son of Zwide. Thus the Tembus are an off-shoot, not of Xosa's, but of Zwide's people. It is said that Mtembu himself was more royal than Xosa, so that tradition still accords the Tembu rulers a precedence over the Xosa rulers. The Tembus migrated along the east coast of South Africa at the same time as, and in fact in company with, their Ama-Xosa kinsmen, and spread themselves along the south-eastern coast as far south as Tsomo. In their migration southward, they came into conflict with several tribes who were in their way. The most notable of these were the Abambo, who occupied the country now known as Natal. These they routed and practically blotted out of existence. They likewise fell upon, and conquered the Amazizi, the Amasekunene, and the Amahlubi.

All along, the Amu-Mtembu seem to have kept in close alliance with their Xosa kinsmen, for it is recorded that Kawuta, the supreme ruler of the Ama-Gcaleka, took to wife a Tembu princess, and that this example was imitated by his successors. The Tembus also allied themselves with some Hottentot tribes, and freely intermarried with them. For a long time, the Tembus seem to have been able to give a good account of themselves in the turmoil and din of inter-tribal wars, which formed the normal state of existence among them, as among all the primitive Bantu. A new danger emerged on their horizon, however, when Tshaka, ruler of the Zulus, came into power. The country of the Tembus was but a little way from the lion's (Tshaka's) den, and by 1823, the expeditions he had sent out had completely broken the power of the Tembus, leaving them greatly thinned in numbers, and without any means of subsistence, so that these people took to cannibalism.

About this time the Tembus came to an understanding with the Xosas and the Europeans of Cape Colony, whereby the three were to unite in defending the Tembu frontiers against the invasion by the Zulu marauders, but the plan was belated. The Zulus had already done their bloody deeds, and retired to their headquarters. The triple alliance was, however, able to completely rout another enemy of the Tembus. This enemy was Matiwane, a chief of the A-Mangwane clan. In despair the remnants of the A-Mangwane fled to Zululand to place themselves under the Zulu king. Tshaka had already been assassinated, and Dingana, the new ruler, is said to have ordered his soldiers to take out Matiwane's eyes, and to club his followers to death. That is quite in keeping with Dingana's character.

The Tembus were also attacked and plundered by the Pondos and the Ama-Baca under Ncapai in 1836. In 1848, at the request of Umtira, their chief, the Tembus were taken under British protection by Sir Harry Smith.

AMA-MPONDO OR PONDOS

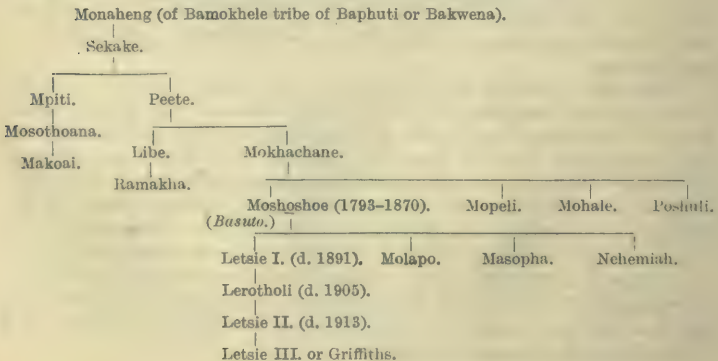
Mpondo—the founder of this tribe—was, like Mtembu, a brother of Xosa, Mpondo being the youngest of the three sons. The three moved together southwards with their respective tribes, and settled near each other about the Umzimvubu River in the eighteenth century. Like the Tembus, the Pondos often resorted to cannibalism when in any difficulty for food. In fact, a clan of the Pondos, known as the Amazimba, is said to have been so used to eating human flesh that they continued that practice even under normal circumstances when there was no difficulty in obtaining food.

Under their chief Faku, the Pondos were pillaged and defeated by the Zulus of Tshaka, who devastated the country, and captured thousands of cattle. Faku, being unable to get help from anywhere, and being in continual fear of the repetition of Zulu invasions, ultimately decided to become a vassal of the dreaded Tshaka in 1828, and to that end deputed some of his councillors to the Zulu monarch, but they arrived at his "great place" on the very day that he was butchered by Dingana.

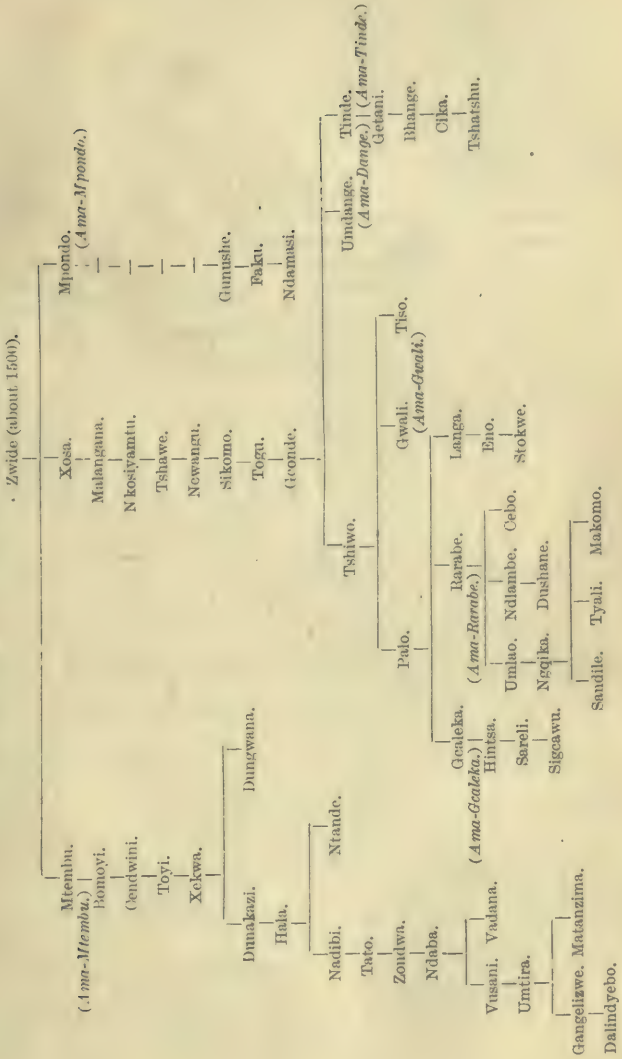
In 1836 Faku allied himself with Ncapai, chief of the warlike Baca tribe, which had broken loose from the Zulu yoke, to begin an independent bloody career. The allied Pondo and Baca forces overran the Tembu country, butchering the Tembus and carrying off large droves of cattle.

After the emigrant Boers got to Natal, Faku entered into friendly understanding with them, but when they attacked the Bacas later on, he asked the British Government of the Cape to take him, his people, and his country under protection. This was done in 1844, but led to territorial disputes with other tribes.

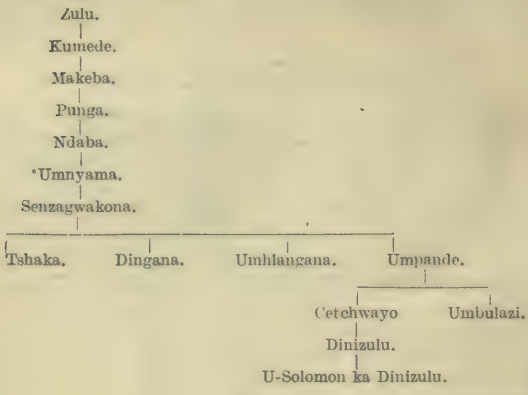
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GENEALOGY OF THE AMA-XOSA RULERS



GENEALOGY OF THE AMA-ZULU RULERS



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